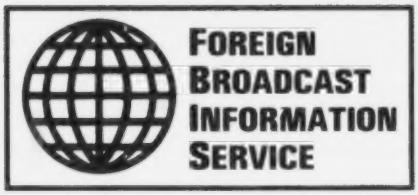

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-028
Thursday
11 February 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-028 *11 February 1988*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Further Reportage on Supreme Soviet Session 1
Deputy on INF Debate 1
Ratification Commission Formed 1
Bogachev: No Unity of Views 1
Zagladin Views Supreme Soviet Session, Goals *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb]* 2
Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Continue 4
Delegates Comment on Disarmament Conference 4
Chervov Links Arms Reduction With U.S. Bases *[Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Feb]* 4
SDI Tests 'Undermine' Current Arms Progress *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 5
Nuclear Capability Limits Diplomatic Choices *[Bovin in IZVESTIYA 5 Feb]* 6

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

PRAVDA on Approach, Issues of CEMA Session *[10 Feb]* 8

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Kovalev on Gorbachev's Afghanistan Statement 9
Further Remarks 9
TV Report on Briefing 10
Reconciliation Efforts Do Not Mark Capitulation *[Ponomarev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Feb]* 11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States and Canada

U.S. Reaction to Afghan Pullout Plans Noted *[Gan in PRAVDA 11 Feb]* 13
Bogachev Criticizes Carlucci Remarks on Arms 13

China

Gorbachev Statement on Afghan Pullout Recounted 14
PRC Reaction Reported 15
Ovchinnikov Discusses Prospects for Summit 15
Expansion of Trade With China Hailed 15
IZVESTIYA Cited on Future of Taiwan 16

Northeast Asia

Upcoming U.S.-Japan Air Exercises Described 16
Adm Sidorov Decries Japanese Naval Buildup 17
ROK Move on Political Prisoners Examined 18
Briefs 18
Perishable Cargo to Japan 18

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Sihanouk Meets Khmer Rouge Leader in Beijing 18
Laos Calls for Talks With Thailand 19
'Escalating Thai Aggression' *[PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 19
1907 Treaty Cited *[Tsvetov in PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 19

Lizichev Continues Indochina Tour 19
Meets Lao Leader 19
Returns to Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Feb]* 20
Further on Indonesia's Mokhtar Talks in Moscow 20
Holds Talks with Katushev 20
Mokhtar Interview 20
Results of Visit Hailed 21
Mokhtar Comments on Trip 22
SRV Party Leader Speaks on Economy *[PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 22
Ministry Exacerbated SRV Trade Shortfall *[Domogatskikh in PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 23
SRV Economist Interviewed on New Trade Law
[Romashko in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Feb] 23

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Completes Talks in Islamabad 24
Warns Pakistan Against Delay 24
Leaves for Home 25
Kovalev Cites 'Unique Chance' for Afghan Peace *[PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 25
Ovchinnikov Comments on Afghanistan Statement *[PRAVDA 11 Feb]* 26
Afghan National Front Supports Soviet Position 27
Keshtmand Addresses Kabul Youth Seminar 28
Afghan Public Reaction to Gorbachev Statement 28
Afghan Refugees Reportedly Return Home 29
Indian Defense Minister Continues Moscow Visit 29
Visits Air Unit *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Feb]* 29
Received by Ryzhkov, Yazov *[PRAVDA 11 Feb]* 30
Meets Gorbachev *[Delhi]* 30
Tours Country 30
Sources Deny Death of PDRY's Al-Bid *[Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD 8 Feb]* 30
Protocol on PDRY Oil Contracts Signed 31
Israel, U.S. Discuss Missile Program *[Aleksandrov]* 31
Former Iranian Envoy Conveys Anniversary Wishes 31

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Behind Coup in Bophuthatswana 32

East Europe

Further on Orzechowski's Moscow Visit 32
Dinner Speeches *[PRAVDA 11 Feb]* 32
Concludes Shevardnadze Talks 35
Meets With Gorbachev 35
Holds News Conference 36
Discusses FRG, Media 36
'Positive' Visit Results 36
Departs for Leningrad 37
Poland's Jaruzelski Meets CSSR's Jakes 37
'Communique' on Meeting 37
Poland's Industry Minister Visits 2-5 Feb *[PAP]* 38
CSSR's Husak Receives John Whitehead 38
SED Party Workers Visit Moscow 1-7 Feb 38
SFRY-Iraq Hold Talks in Belgrade 39
SFRY's Dizdarevic on Balkan Meeting 39
Albanian Spokesman on Meeting 39
Yakovlev Holds Talks with BCP's Yordanov 39
PRAVDA Cites Volskiy's Hungary Visit *[PRAVDA 31 Jan]* 40
USSR-Hungarian Broadcasting Protocol Signed 40

West Europe

Resignation of Italy's Goria Due to 'Setbacks' 40
FRG's Spaeth Leaves Moscow for Leningrad 40
Joint Business Established *[DPA]* 41
'Radio Glasnost' Disinformation Campaign Viewed *[Osinskiy]* 41
Military-Scientific Conference Ends in Munich *[PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 41
Gromyko, Queen of The Netherlands Exchange Notes *[IZVESTIYA 11 Feb]* 42
French CP Leader Welcomes Gorbachev Statement 42

Latin America & Caribbean

Reagan To Continue Seeking Contra Aid 42
Nicaraguan Contras Cut Electricity Supplies 43

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gromyko Tours Vilnius Factories 4 February *[PRAVDA 5 Feb]* 44
Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Raykom Plenum *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Jan]* 44
Solovyev Attends Conductor Mravinskiy's Funeral *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Jan]* 45
Biryukova Visit to Turkmenistan Described *[Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA]* 45
Arrives in Chardzhou *[22 Jan]* 45
Visits Carpet Factory *[20 Jan]* 45
Visits Achievement Exhibit *[21 Jan]* 47
Visits Clothing Factory *[22 Jan]* 49
Meets With Central Committee *[22 Jan]* 51
Kazakh Plenum Discusses Consumer Goods *[PRAVDA 10 Feb]* 52
Tashkent Paper Attacks Tatar 'Extremists' *[Petrov in PRAVDA VOSTOKA 21 Jan]* 52
Lithuanian President Examines Vatican Appeal 55
Anniversary Must Prompt Review of Atheist Work *[PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 55
Reader Describes Difficulties in Obtaining Visas *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 10 Feb]* 56
Readers Want Secondhand Markets Reopened *[PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 58
Workers Deplore 'Pamyat' Activists' Behavior *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Jan]* 59
'Historical Nihilism' of Shatrov Play Derided *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 29 Jan]* 61

Economic

PRAVDA Views 'Wage-Padding' Practice *[Parfenov in PRAVDA 5 Feb]* 64
Official Replies to Questions on Price Reform *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Feb]* 64

Agriculture

Non-Chernozem Farmers Called 'Parasitical' *[PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 69
Nikonov Tours Dzhambul, Kazakhstan 71
Murakhovskiy Attends Agro-Industrial Seminar 71
Weather, Winter Crop Status Reported *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 4 Feb]* 71

Military

New History of USSR Armed Forces Published *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Feb]* 72
New Works To Reevaluate Military History *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 2 Feb]* 72
General Lizichev Honors Singing Soldiers *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Feb]* 75
Readers' Letters on Aspects of Military Life *[PRAVDA 31 Jan]* 75
Tajik Leader Notes Local Military Difficulties 76

Further Reportage on Supreme Soviet Session

Deputy on INF Debate

LD102241 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] [Announcer] When preparing for work today I acquainted myself with reports from TASS and foreign information agencies and I must say that the main topic in news bulletins of the foreign mass media is the start of the USSR Supreme Soviet's examination of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles. Interest is aroused not only by this fact itself, a fact which is indeed of very great importance, but also by the very prodecure of the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Today, Vladimir Ivanovich Fedosov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities and executive secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, is taking part in our program. I think that you too will be interested by this, as it were, first-hand information.

[Fedosov] Well, I would like to say the issue that was discussed at the joint meeting of the commissions is hard to overestimate, because, after all, the first step has actually been taken toward disarmament, a first step has been taken toward common sense. But first of all I would like to stress that the situation and the spirit of the atmosphere in which discussion of the treaty took place at the commissions' meeting was truly in the spirit of the times and one really sensed the spirit of restructuring.

I would like to stress that we all felt the great responsibility for the defense capacity of our country, for international security. It should be said that we had an opportunity to ask frankly all the questions that concerned us and we received detailed and specific answers to practically all questions. Do you know that a special commission has been set up which will again study the provisions of the treaty, which, so to speak, will again meet with, or rather organize, meetings with ministries, departments, public organisations, the public, including the international public and will then introduce its proposals and its conclusions to the commissions of the Supreme Soviet? Then the treaty will be examined again, this time by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and evidently, ratified at its session. At least, we will count on this and do everything to ensure that it happens.

I will say that this treaty has been of very great importance for the public—not only the Soviet public but for all the peace-loving public. A great many letters come to us at the Soviet Peace Committee from foreign citizens, from our Soviet people, who put forward some of their own interesting suggestions on the further development of this process. It should be said that the solution of this question and the signing of the treaty inspire the public today to new deeds. In particular, for example, there is a suggestion that public observation should be conducted to ensure the fullest and highest quality implementation of the treaty.

I would like to say in conclusion that the activating of the public, the maximum concentration of all forces on resolving this issue, will ensure that the treaty discussed at the commissions will be put into practice. We all hope that the process of detente will not be halted, that the process of detente will continue, and that humanity as a whole will, in the very near future, be freed from nuclear weapons, and I hope that the solution will be found to ecological problems, in short that a life that will be worthy of mankind on earth will begin.

Ratification Commission Formed

LD101506 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—The foreign relations commissions of the two houses of the Soviet parliament, which began ratification hearings on the INF treaty at a joint meeting yesterday, formed a special commission as their working organ to draw up proposals and recommendations.

At its first session Tuesday, that commission elected MP Georgiy Korniyenko to be its chairman and MP Vladimir Fedosov its secretary and agreed on procedures for further work.

It was announced here today that the commission is to hold its next session on February 19.

Bogachev: No Unity of Views

LD101710 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

During the preliminary discussion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington, members of the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet paid much attention to giving answers to questions raised in letters of voters about the consequences of the implementation of the treaty for the country's security and international situation. There was a particularly large number of questions about possible actions of the USA to violate the spirit and the letter of the agreement, as well as about measures called upon to ensure an unswerving observance of the treaty by both sides.

It should be noted that though there was no absolute unity in views on the treaty in the Soviet Union, neither the speakers, nor members of the commissions for foreign affairs of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet faced any polemics with those who are fundamentally against the nuclear disarmament. And this is a

substantial difference of the debate in the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the discussions of the treaty in the U.S. Senate where a small but active group of Jesse Helms is conducting a determined campaign against arms control agreements.

Most Soviet parliamentarians emphasized in their speeches that ensurance of equal security for the Soviet Union and the United states is the main criterion in appraising the treaty signed. The provisions of the treaty, as signed in Washington, meet these criteria, they noted. "In our estimate, the putting into effect of the treaty between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles suits the military-political situation, the interests of the Soviet Union", USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov said.

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet revealed the essence of separate provisions of the treaty which caused doubts in some Soviet citizens and emphasized that in the course of negotiations the sides agrees to mutually-acceptable compromise. Thus, the U.S. side moved away from its initial demands and agreed to the elimination of its nuclear warheads to [as received] FRG "Pershing" missiles, gave up the alteration of land-based cruise missiles into sea-launched, abandoned the proposal that only Soviet missiles should be eliminated at first and American missiles be eliminated later. The mutually-acceptable solutions were ultimately found.

At the same time, Soviet parliamentarians emphasized during the debate the danger of plans for the "compensations" now worked out in the USA, for the deployment of new nuclear weapon systems in the European territory and adjacent water. These measures, aimed at undermining the results of the Washington summit show that the most militaristically-minded forces in the USA continue hoping to achieve military superiority.

This undoubtedly causes concern in the USSR and in other socialist countries. Precisely for this reason it is now important to preserve the dynamism of the process of disarmament and not allow for pauses and intermissions in it, said participants in the debate in the Kremlin. Otherwise there might be sudden undesirable turns in the developments.

The treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles resulted from correctly understood moment of the coincidence of the interests of the USSR, the USA and other countries. "The treaty discussed now is ultimately the crystallisation of new thinking whose important provision is taking into account to the utmost the mutual interests of states and peoples", USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said at a meeting of the commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Zagladin Views Supreme Soviet Session, Goals

AU091743 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 88 p 1

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and first deputy chief of CPSU Central Committee department, by RUDE PRAVO reporter Lubor Kazda in Moscow on 2 February: "The Soviet-U.S. Treaty Will Be Responsibly Discussed; Vadim Zagladin on the Process of Ratifying This Document in the USSR Supreme Soviet"—RUDE PRAVO introductory passage]

[Text] Moscow—On Tuesday Comrade Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee department, granted to RUDE PRAVO the following interview on the procedures for ratifying the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles:

[Kazda] How will the Soviet side proceed in ratifying this treaty?

[Zagladin] This process has already begun—the treaty has been discussed by the USSR Council of Ministers, which then passed it on to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium—the body with the powers to carry out the ratification act. After that the document was submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities, where it is now being studied by the deputies.

[Kazda] What comes next?

[Zagladin] At the beginning of next week, the two commissions will hold their first joint session, chaired by Comrades Ligachev and Dobrynin. They will hear the stands taken by the USSR Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Defense, after which a brief debate will take place. It will be brief, since it will merely define the further course of deliberations: The deputies have submitted proposals to set up a special body which would thoroughly and comprehensively study the document and which would involve in its work various experts, such as military specialists, scientists-physicists, representatives of factories producing defense technology, and so forth—in fact, everybody whom the individual stipulations of the treaty will concern. The special body will also hear the representatives of the general public, who will be able to convey any questions that can crop up, or ask for an explanation about anything that is unclear or raises doubts—since doubts, too, exist. The working body will submit its recommendations to the second joint session of the Foreign Affairs Commissions, and the stand adopted by this session will then be submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Kazda] A very thorough procedure. How much time will it need?

[Zagladin] The special working committee is expected to need approximately 1 month for its deliberations. After that we will be able to set the date of the Foreign Commissions session.

[Kazda] You have mentioned that public opinion could also come up with certain questions concerning the treaty. How is the document being received?

[Zagladin] The overwhelming majority of the people support the treaty. According to the results of a public opinion poll in the USSR which have been published, only 6 percent of the people interviewed had voiced doubts whether the treaty does not represent far too large a concession. True, there is asymmetry in the elimination of these missiles, and other armament reductions in the future could also be asymmetric on both sides. However, in this instance the decisive thing is that one entire, most dangerous class of nuclear weapons in Europe is being completely eliminated, and if the treaty is ratified, this significant goal will be reached. The fact that this is the reason why the Soviet people welcome the treaty is known to me in my function as Supreme Soviet deputy, from the numerous views addressed to me by my constituents.

[Kazda] Can the Soviet deputies introduce amendments to the treaty during the ratification process?

[Zagladin] So far I have not heard a single commission member say he intends to ask for something to be added to the treaty. True, certain questions may emerge during the course of deliberations. I believe, however, it is improbable to expect additions.

[Kazda] Will a possible submission of requests for ammendments to the treaty not depend on possible additions by the U.S. side?

[Zagladin] It is as I have already said: So far I do not know of any deputy intending to submit a request for an ammendment. But everything will become clear during the debate. It is only natural that we will be (and, in fact, already are) following the discussion that is underway in the U.S. Senate committees with great attention, and take the committee's conclusions into account. At the same time I think, however, that our own committees will proceed with their discussions primarily from our own interests and needs. I am most familiar with the moods and views of our Supreme Soviet deputies: They do have certain questions and suggestions, but these are primarily positive. In the course of the ratification process, attention will be primarily focused on issues of checking on the fulfillment of the treaty conditions and on the security of our country. We highly appreciate the treaty, regarding it as an extremely momentous document; and we will do our utmost to have it ratified, and later fulfilled, in all its stipulations.

[Kazda] In this way it can be said that the ratification is not running into any obstacles on the Soviet side?

[Zagladin] I am convinced the Supreme Soviet will ratify the treaty.

[Kazda] It was announced that the Soviet operational and tactical missiles, which are deployed on CSSR and GDR territories, will be withdrawn even prior to the Soviet-U.S. treaty becoming valid. This step is not stipulated in the treaty....

[Zagladin] It is an expression of goodwill on the part of the USSR, CSSR, and GDR; by undertaking this initiative, they want to reaffirm their absolutely serious approach to the treaty, and their full resolve to fulfill its conditions.

[Kazda] When is this withdrawal planned to take place?

[Zagladin] The date will be announced later [dodatecne]. The missiles will be withdrawn prior to the ratification of the treaty.

[Kazda] How do you assess the development of the atmosphere among the general public in the West regarding the security issues?

[Zagladin] For dozens of years one has been hammering into the Western people's minds that they are under a "Soviet threat." This psychosis has struck deep roots; nevertheless the situation is now beginning to change. The initiatives of the socialist countries, our collective steps toward security—in the present instance steps undertaken by the USSR, CSSR, and GDR, three countries which have come out with the largest number of practical disarmament proposals—are producing a positive echo and impact. The public opinion polls carried out in the FRG, Britain, Italy, and (less so, but also) in France show that the artificially nourished fear of the Soviet Union is growing weaker. The same thing can be said of the United States, particularly in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's trip and the treaty on missile elimination. The fear is growing weaker, but it still exists. Just look at the discrepancy: On the one hand, 70 percent of all Americans are in favor of ratifying the treaty on missile elimination and of continuing the process of nuclear disarmament, while at the same time 60 percent of them say that they are in favor of SDI, that so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. An internal struggle is taking place there. The fear remains, but simultaneously it is under pressure from the conviction that security is being strengthened." [quotation marks as published]

[Kazda] We thank you for the interview.

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Continue

LD082023 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 8 TASS—A plenary meeting of the delegations to the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms was held here today. At the meeting the Soviet side presented its evaluation of the situation at the talks. The Soviet delegation also submitted important proposals directed at reaching agreement on the text of a number of articles dealing with verification of compliance with obligations that the sides will undertake in connection with the "treaty between the USSR and the USA on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms" that is now being drafted.

Delegates Comment on Disarmament Conference

LD092021 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Geneva February 9 TASS—TASS Correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhev reports:

"The Soviet-American summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington, the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles endorse a new trend in international life by easing tension and consolidating the hopes for the onset of a new era, the era of international detente", Mario Campora, [name as received] Argentina's representative at the Conference on Disarmament, said at a meeting today. He noted that the joint Soviet-American summit statement contains a whole programme of the further advance at the talks on disarmament. This gives a strong impetus to the work of multilateral bodies, including the Geneva Conference.

Head of the Yugoslav delegation Marko Kosin welcomed the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. He said the obligations assumed by both sides show convincingly that disarmament and improvement of international relations are not only necessary but also feasible. The Yugoslav representative urged the conference to exert the maximum of efforts towards an early drafting of a convention on banning chemical weapons.

At today's meeting the participants in the conference endorsed the decision for the continued functioning of the special committee on chemical weapons. On behalf of a group of socialist countries, David Meiszter of Hungary noted that the committee carried out vast and useful work in the past year. Representative of the group of non-aligned and neutral countries Adolfo Raul Taylhardat [name as received] noted that these results give the reason to hope that the convention will be formulated soon.

Poland's permanent representative at the United Nations office and other international organizations at Geneva, Bogumil Sujka was appointed chairman of the special committee for the current year.

Chervov Links Arms Reduction With U.S. Bases

AU051609 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Feb 88 p 4

[Interview with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, "through NOVOSTI specially for RABOTNICHESKO DELO": "The World Needs Decisive Steps Toward Understanding and Security"]

[Question] Why has the Soviet side not raised in the negotiations with the United States the issue of the American bases located around the USSR? How far is it expedient to reduce nuclear arms when there is a large number of such bases?

[Chervov] First of all I would like to point out that in the negotiations with the United States the Soviet side has never taken off the agenda—nor will ever do so—the issue of the U.S. military bases located around the USSR, bases which are full of nuclear arms targeted on our country.

The Pentagon possesses 1,600 military bases and installations on the territories of 34 states. The United States does not renounce this strategy, because it forms a component part of their policy directed toward attaining military superiority over the USSR and suppressing the national liberation movements.

The USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states are waging a rigorous struggle to eliminate military bases on foreign territory. This is our unchanging position.

The principle of military sufficiency, the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine, and the creation of an all-embracing system of international security envisage the dissolution of the military blocs and the elimination of the military bases on foreign territory.

The signing of the INF Treaty is a beginning for eliminating nuclear weapons. Under this treaty intermediate-range missiles and dozens of missile bases in the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands will be eliminated. The further reduction of nuclear arms is unthinkable without the removal of the military bases on foreign territory.

[Question] Should there not be an agreement on the border between airspace and outer space, or on the extension of state sovereignty into outer space?

[Chervov] Insofar as a concept of "the airspace of states" exists, it would be natural for us also to agree on the border—a conventional one, of course—between airspace and outer space.

This question was examined by the UN in the seventies in the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and in its scientific-technical and legal subcommittee. The states that are striving to resolve this issue—

and they include the Soviet Union—propose with good reason that such a border should be defined at an altitude of 100-110 km above sea level. Despite this, the United States and certain other Western states are blocking reaching an accord. The United States is against any border whatsoever, as it is counting on the uncontrolled use of both outer space and airspace.

Regarding the extension of state sovereignty into outer space, this issue is not a new one. Certain equatorial countries have recently been trying to have the sectors of the stationary orbits over the territories of their states recognized as a national resource of those states. Despite this, it is clear that outer space should not be subject to national annexation. Its use for peaceful purposes can only be effective when it is mankind's common property.

[Question] It happens that we hear or read from time to time in the Western mass media about "the increase of the Soviet military forces in the Asian-Pacific region." The military base at Camh Ranh in Vietnam is given as an example. What can be said in this connection?

[Chervov] There are no grounds for talking about any "increase" whatsoever in our military forces in the Asian-Pacific region. Instead one should be speaking of something different: The USSR recently expressed readiness to assume the obligation not to increase the numbers of its nuclear-capable aircraft in the Far East—provided that the United States is correspondingly ready not to base in the Asian-Pacific region other nuclear systems capable of reaching Soviet territory. We have submitted a number of proposals aimed at reducing naval activity in the Pacific, primarily of naval vessels equipped with nuclear weapons, for a radical reduction in Asia of armed forces and conventional arms to the limits of reasonable sufficiency, and for strengthening the confidence measures and stabilizing the situation. We withdrew a certain portion of our troops from Afghanistan and Mongolia. All our initiatives and practical steps bear witness to the groundlessness of any talk about some Soviet "military growth" in the Asian-Pacific region.

Regarding Camh Ranh, we have no Soviet military base there. Under an agreement with the SRV Government a material-technical support base with limited functions is located in this port. The USSR is ready to eliminate this base if the United States displays readiness to give up its military presence in the Philippines, for example.

[Question] What are the USSR's positions today on the problems of the ban on and elimination of chemical weapons and the halting of nuclear tests?

[Chervov] The Soviet position on these issues was stated at the Washington summit. The USSR supports a complete ban on chemical weapons, including binary weapons. Reliable verification [kontrol] must be ensured over all forms of production of such arms, including over the transnational companies and private firms. At the Geneva negotiations certain progress was achieved on this problem. Notwithstanding this, the United States has recently begun to drag out the talks on this issue, offering the difficulties in verification as an argument, and in mid-January they began to produce binary weapons. We would like to hope that the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration in Washington will provide an impulse to these negotiations.

With regard to the prospects for an agreement on limiting nuclear tests, we would remind you that the Soviet Union supports the immediate halting of nuclear tests of all kinds and is ready at any time to stop implementing its nuclear programs. The United States, however, is not ready for this.

If we do not succeed in the near future in achieving a complete nuclear test ban, then it will be necessary for us to talk at least about a substantial reduction in the yield of the nuclear explosions and to radically cut their number. Now that the process of nuclear disarmament has begun, the nuclear test issues must be resolved in precisely the same way.

SDI Tests 'Undermine' Current Arms Progress

PM101225 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov "Military-Political Commentary": "The Hawkish Habits of the 'Doves'"]

[Text] This week, according to AP reports, the U.S. Air Force intends to carry out the latest test in space within the framework of implementing the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative." The experiment, given the sonorous codename "Delta-181," provides for putting four small rockets into near-earth orbit and also 11 other "space devices" to simulate the flight of ballistic missiles in different phases of their trajectory. A laser and radar and optical instruments which have been put into space will track the "space devices" simultaneously with a land-based pickup for several hours against the backdrop of earth and space.

The scale of "Delta-181" is much more vast than a comparable experiment carried out in the fall of 1986. Then two satellites were put into orbit to watch one another for some time from different sides of the planet. Then the apparatus mounted on them registered a missile launch. At the close of the experiment the satellites destroyed one another in a deliberate collision. Specialists believe the scale of "Delta" has been expanded to meet the Pentagon's desire to prevent any slippage in the rate of implementation of the "Star Wars" program due to delays in resuming flights by the U.S. space shuttle, which has been out of service since the "Challenger" disaster. It is well-known that the Pentagon was making extensive use of these craft for conducting militarist experiments.

The transatlantic devotees of the militarization of space are not sitting idle. "Delta-181" is not the only proof of this. Literally the other day a report was received about the start of U.S. ground testing of a powerful chemical laser, which is seen as one of the primary components of SDI. The McDonnell Douglas Corporation is carrying out work at a heightened pace on creating the ABM missiles designed to destroy warheads in the final phase of their trajectory. The Pentagon intends to embark on the deployment of such ABM missiles by the end of this century. Together with airborne missile intercept systems they are to form the last layer of a multilayered air defense system with space-based elements, the creation of which is provided for by the "Star Wars" program.

Work is also proceeding vigorously in other avenues of this program. As General Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organization, has stated, the United States has made "sufficient progress" in implementing the "initial," mainly research, phase of the "Star Wars" program to enable it to adopt a decision early next decade, given the necessary appropriations, to deploy the "Strategic Defense Initiative." He stressed that if the decision is positive, the Pentagon could embark on deployment of SDI in the mid-1990's.

There are extremely influential U.S. forces trying increasingly harder to spur on the process of implementing the "Star Wars" program. They are now trying to exploit the procedure for ratifying the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to this end. Republican Representative Kemp, for instance, has called on the U.S. President outright to "declare his commitment to accelerating the phased deployment of SDI." Both U.S. security and the fate of arms control, Kemp asserts, depend on the country's determination to accelerate this deployment.

Jack Kemp, a Republican presidential candidate, once described himself as follows: "I am not a hawk, I am a dove—a heavily armed dove." He and "doves" like him are also trying now using hawkish methods to step up the militarization of space under the cover of "concern for security." This "concern" is false through and through. For the creation of offensive space armaments by no means consolidates the security of the peoples, and that includes the American people. Dilations on an "impenetrable space shield" blatantly and very dangerously deceive people. Britain's THE OBSERVER wrote recently that the problems of nuclear missiles must be tackled before they are launched. These questions must be resolved by diplomatic methods. Otherwise there will only be one "victor" in a clash—the nuclear weapons.

It is hard not to agree with this opinion. The dangerous trend toward speeding up the militarization of space could undermine the turnaround which has emerged in the process of demilitarizing international relations.

Nuclear Capability Limits Diplomatic Choices

PM111213 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin article under rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Nuclear War and Politics"]

[Text] The debate surrounding the formula of the well-known early 19th century German military theoretician Karl von Clausewitz—war is the continuation of policy by other means—has lasted for several decades. Can this formula be applied to the nuclear age? Or, to be more specific, can it be applied to nuclear war? Some have claimed that it cannot. Others have insisted firmly on the reverse. It seems to me, however, that the real situation is more complex than a rigid metaphysical contrast between "yes" and "no."

And so, let us turn to Clausewitz. Here are his actual words: **"War is nothing more than the continuation of state policy by other means."** [boldface published in widespace type] V.I. Lenin, who closely studied Clausewitz's main work "On War" and made an abstract of it, appraised his formula as follows: "This famous statement belongs to one of the most profound writers on military issues, Clausewitz. Marxists have always rightly considered this tenet to be the theoretical basis of views on the significance of every war."

Developing his idea, the German theoretician noted that "in every case we must not think of war as something independent but as an instrument of policy"; "at its zenith the art of war becomes a policy which gives battle instead of writing notes." One more quotation: "In its main outline the waging of war is itself a policy which has replaced the pen with the sword...."

So, war is an instrument of policy and the continuation of policy. One would think that this theory would hold good when applied to any war, including a nuclear war. Indeed. After all, regardless of the objectively inevitable catastrophic, suicidal consequences of such a war, those who would like to begin it will continue their policy and will use war precisely as an instrument of policy and a means by which to achieve definite political goals. In this respect nuclear war would not be any different from the wars fought in the prenuclear age. In this respect Clausewitz's formula is axiomatic and not subject to time.

But Clausewitz's formula extends beyond the above statement. It assumes that there is always the possibility of choice: Depending on the actual circumstances, one can employ either peaceful or "other," violent, means to attain one's goal. Everything is decided by the assessment of the correlation of forces. The two scenarios—the pen and the sword, battle and the diplomatic note—are totally equal in principle.

Here Clausewitz is out of date. For the modern politician with nuclear weapons at his disposal, this choice does not exist. Because there is not and cannot be a political

goal for the sake of whose attainment there would any point in beginning a nuclear war and risking the future of mankind. In no circumstances can nuclear war be considered a reasonable choice or a rational means of continuing policy. There is, therefore, no alternative to peaceful coexistence that would be acceptable to mankind. This is the initial postulate of the new political thinking—the thinking of the nuclear age.

Some interesting, significant consequences can be derived from this postulate. I will show you some of them.

The purpose and meaning of peaceful coexistence is qualitatively changing. Now it is not simply the most desirable, most reasonable state of relations between capitalist and socialist countries. Now it is the only possible state of relations. Now nonpeaceful "coexistence" is equivalent to nonexistence and the destruction of the human race.

Whereas before, in the prenuclear age, the accumulation of might and arms could serve as a guarantee of state security, now unilateral security is unthinkable. Now political agreements envisaging a mutual reduction in military strength potentials are the only guarantee of security. Not security as a result of force, but security instead of force—this is how the question now stands.

Let us continue.

Why have people gone to war in the past and why do they continue to do so now? Because—from the viewpoint of those who begin the war and those who are forced to offer resistance—there are some things which they value more than peace. For some it is wealth and power, for others it is freedom and independence. For the Americans at the end of the 18th century and for the Vietnamese in the middle of the 20th century independence was more important than peace. So, they went to war. They wanted to win, and win they did.

But what if a war cannot be won? What if the side that strikes the first blow is the second to be destroyed? That is when the old scale of values ceases to apply. There is nothing more important than peace if the alternative is nuclear catastrophe.

Arguing in the abstract, one can say that nuclear war may be just—a nuclear counterstrike, a retaliatory blow. But this is empty, meaningless abstraction. The distinction between just and unjust (if one has in mind the objective nature of war rather than the subjective feelings of the soldier) only has meaning for the living and for history which continues. But this distinction ends with the death of the human race and the end of history. Consequently, nuclear pacifism applied to nuclear war, that is, the unconditional and, if you like, absolute negation of the lawfulness of such a war, is the only reasonable, only moral, only politically justified position to take.

The well-known Marxist theory that violence is the midwife of history is obviously subject to considerable limitation. In his time V.I. Lenin was completely justified in saying that World War I "accelerated social development in an unprecedented manner" and that war "had given history a nudge—it is now flying along at the speed of an express train." This could also have been said of World War II. But World War III? A nuclear war? As N.K. Krupskaya reminds us, when pondering on the nature of war and thinking about the future in 1918, Lenin said that "modern technology is now contributing to the destructive nature of war to an increasing extent. But the time will come when war will be so destructive that it will be completely impossible."

We have now reached that time.

Any violence which carries the threat of a world catastrophe cannot serve to accelerate social progress. Nuclear violence brings death, not the renewal of life. The use of nuclear weapons is tantamount to murder and suicide. It is here, at this point in the analysis, that the interests of the capitalist and socialist worlds, the interests of every member of the world community intersect. That is a source of hope.

The main task of politics and politicians in the nuclear age is to prevent and hermetically seal off nuclear war. There is only one way to do this—nuclear disarmament. Ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will signify the beginning of this process.

PRAVDA on Approach, Issues of CEMA Session
PM101633 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Leonid Chausov article under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Time Waits For No Man"]

[Text] Another line has been written in the annals of socialist economic integration. The 126th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held recently. This Moscow meeting deserves special attention. The first practical steps in readjusting the mechanism of multilateral cooperation among the fraternal countries were analyzed and serious problems connected with making our integration more effective were discussed.

The need to cardinally restructure our work and find a conceptual approach to defining the long-term aspects and forms of developing and deepening mutual economic cooperation was very clearly stated at the meeting of the 43d (Extraordinary) CEMA Session. The partners agreed at the time that under the new conditions attention should be focused on a strategy of international socialist division of labor, while economic, scientific, and technical collaboration should be set on a long-term basis. This is already being done—albeit not as rapidly and extensively as we would have liked—as we could see from the last CEMA Executive Committee session.

The discussions, which were sometimes very heated but frank, focused considerable attention on the work of the CEMA Secretariat. How can it be made more efficient than before and be made to run more smoothly and flexibly? What, given present conditions, is the optimum structure for the Secretariat and how can its staff be brought into line with that reality? How can the contractual and legal norms governing inter-CEMA relations be improved? As real elements of the process of restructuring cooperation between the fraternal countries, all these vital issues were the subject of keen discussion.

None of the partners was in any doubt that to make more rapid progress, CEMA must properly develop its analytical research and concentrate on long-term prognoses. As far as the current issues of building integrational contacts are concerned, it is time to make them the responsibility of national organs of management, economic organizations that have established direct links, or joint enterprises. People should be more forthcoming in showing initiative and independence. Firsthand experience of direct participation in the processes of integration is irreplaceable.

So which specific proposals did the Executive Committee session participants concern themselves with in this connection? They discussed, for example, one of the most important aspects of collaboration—reciprocal commodity trade. The list of requirements concerning the quality of these commodities as stipulated in the contract was made more specific. Now the obligations of the manufacturer concerning quality guarantees not only apply to machinery and equipment but also to the materials from which they are made. The financial liability of the supplier in the event of failure to supply spare parts has also been increased.

Perhaps one of the most topical problems is that of improving the transport situation. It is hard to overestimate the role of forming a smooth-running transport communication system on the gigantic scale of the community. After all, the development of foreign trade relations is inconceivable without a powerful and, moreover, efficiently regulated transport scheme.

This sphere is under strain, however, because of the deficient material and technical base. The situation must be rectified without delay, but this cannot be done without modernizing and retooling the sector and introducing electronics and integrated mechanization facilities....

The role played by economic associations with the prefix "inter" was also discussed. "Intertekstilmash," "Interatominstrument," and "Interkhimvolokno," for example.... They have been in operation for more than a year now. But the question of how efficient they are was discussed at the CEMA Executive Committee session. It was decided to make appropriate amendments, abandon obsolete ideas, and more rapidly transfer associations like these to the economic accountability system....

As the Executive Committee session indicated, the task of informing the public on integration matters is not without its hitches. Take, for example, the final news conference given at the end of the Executive Committee session. CEMA Secretariat representatives were asked questions from which it became clear that journalists would like to be given more details about what is actually holding back restructuring in the administrative spheres of this international organization. I would venture to suggest that not all my colleagues were satisfied with the answers they were given.

Of course, the problems discussed are complex and multifaceted. It goes without saying that they cannot be resolved in an instant and that all the new ideas being introduced to CEMA work cannot be covered in a single news conference. But we must not put off the solution of all these problems and their broad discussion by the public and the press in socialist states. Time will not wait.

Kovalev on Gorbachev's Afghanistan Statement
LD091528 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—"Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan is aimed at sharply turning the course of events to a solution to one of the most arduous and painful regional problems," Anatoliy Kovalyev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, stated today.

He spoke at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

"The situation in Afghanistan and around it is now open to a settlement as never before," the first deputy foreign minister of the USSR said. "This is a real chance and a unique one. The main thing now is not to interfere with it but to help to all those who actually, and not hypocritically, are interested in such a settlement to use the chance. It is important that everyone makes one's contribution to it. This applies to both East and West. This particularly applies, of course, to the countries of the region: Pakistan, India, and Iran.

"Striving to promote a speedy and successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva", Anatoliy Kovalev pointed out, "The Soviet Union and Afghanistan agreed to fix a concrete date for a withdrawal of Soviet troops—May 15, this year—and to complete it within ten months. Of course, on the understanding that agreements on a settlement will be signed not later than March 15 and will enter into force two months after that. But a withdrawal of Soviet troops may begin earlier if agreements are signed before March 15. A larger part of the Soviet contingent may be withdrawn at the first stage."

"The same has been stated by President Najibullah of Afghanistan", the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR emphasized.

"For centuries we know the Afghans as a proud, freedom-loving and courageous people. They themselves will solve all issues connected with national reconciliation and the formation of a coalition government. Our concern is to help them get firm guarantees of non-interference from the outside. If the people's choice is in favour of a non-aligned and neutral state, we shall be glad to have such a neighbour. We have lived and will continue to live side by side with friendly Afghanistan in accordance with Leninist traditions."

"The new thinking has manifested itself vividly in the process of untangling the Afghan knot," the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR stressed. "For years the conflict there has not been subsiding. The truth that in our days an armed conflict of any nature is capable of poisoning atmosphere in contiguous and far-off countries, not to mention the suffering and sacrifices of the people of the given country itself, has been confirmed once again".

"The national reconciliation policy is an act of great civic courage. The Afghan leadership calls not only for just ending the armed fight, but also for creating a coalition government and for sharing power with the opposition. Such an unbiased approach finds a profound response: The people have got tied of the war and strive for peace."

"The new thinking means also new ways and a new style of the transaction of international affairs. The negotiating process between Afghanistan and Pakistan is proceeding with the assistance of the United Nations secretary-general and through his personal envoy Diego Cordovez whose personal efforts and activities we highly respect and value. The Iranian leadership, whose participation in a settlement would be only welcomed, has been regularly informed about the talks. By now, the elaboration of all documents covering all aspects of a settlement has been almost completed at the talks in Geneva and we shall hope that this is the concluding phase."

"There is hope that a settlement of the Afghanistan situation will become the first extinguished seat of conflict among a multitude of fires still blazing in Asia, in the south of Africa, and in Latin America. Such a settlement can promote a settlement of other regional conflicts within a space of several years. The Soviet Union will spare no effort to secure that," the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR emphasized.

Further Remarks
LD091825 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—"In the world, there is no conflict or outburst of regional tension which would not require an urgent settlement—be it Latin America, southern Africa, South East Asia, the Persian Gulf area or the Middle East," Anatoliy Kovalev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, said at a press conference today in answer to questions put by Soviet and foreign journalists.

"In all these regions various states make efforts and look for finding ways to settle the situation in this or that way. If the conflict in Afghanistan is put out, this will provide energy and dynamics for launching a search for ways to normalise the situation in one of other regions".

In Geneva, quite a short way remains to be covered before the signing of a treaty settling the Afghanistan situation, the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR pointed out.

He said the negotiators needed only to put down final commas in the text, to change some words, and put down a date.

On the whole, documents, of which there will be four or five, are prepared for signature, he emphasized.

Anatoliy Kovalev explained why it is now possible to speak of a unique chance in connection with the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

A policy of national reconciliation has been proclaimed in the Republic and finds understanding and response among the Afghan people. This gives chances for a settlement of the domestic aspects of the Afghan problem by the Afghans themselves. As far as the situation outside Afghanistan is concerned, it favours an end to interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from Pakistan and other countries. A considerable role has also been played by the accords reached in Washington as well as by the overall improvement of the political climate in the world.

The search for a settlement of the Afghanistan situation, Anatoliy Kovalev emphasized, is proceeding along the lines of the new thinking which already yields concrete results. He cited the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty as an example of that.

In answer to a question put by a journalist, Anatoliy Kovalev said that, as far as is known, the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan proceeds from the assumption that former King Zahir Khan may play the role of an important element in the national reconciliation policy and in the administration of the state if he himself so desires.

"The main thing for the Soviet Union is to maintain the traditions of friendship and goodneighbourliness with the Afghan people. Our country strove for that way back in the 1920s when it concluded the first Soviet-Afghan treaty on the establishment of Soviet troops," the first deputy minister said, "The goal which we strive for is goodneighbourliness and friendship with the Afghan people and with independent and sovereign Afghanistan.

TV Report on Briefing

LD092326 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2040 GMT 9 Feb 88

[News conference by Anatoliy Gavrilovich Kovalev, first deputy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, conducted at the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 9 February—recorded]

[Text] [Kovalev] Last night the whole world saw an event about which no one is indifferent: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made a statement about Afghanistan. This statement was directed at sharply turning the course of events toward solving one of the most difficult and painful regional problems. What possibility is opening up?

In striving to promote a speedy and successful conclusion to the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan agreed to fix a concrete date for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—this 15 May—and to conclude their withdrawal over the course of 10 months, bearing in mind, of course, that the signing of these agreements on the settlement will take place no later than 15 March and that they will come in force in 2 months time. But the withdrawal of Sovie troops could commence even earlier if the agreements are signed before 15 March; a larger part of the Soviet contingent may be withdrawn in the first stage.

The 27th CPSU Congress clearly set out the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In our party, words do not differ from deeds. Yesterday's statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is a poignant and crucial embodiment of this. The new thinking has shown itself clearly in the untying of the Afghan knot, as nowhere else. The conflict, with its victims, suffering, and with everything that accompanied military action, has gone on unabated here over many long years. Once again, the truth has been confirmed that today an armed conflict of any nature can poison the atmosphere in neighboring and more distant coutnries, not to mention the suffering of the victims in this country.

The national reconciliation policy is an act of great citizens' courage. The Afghan leadership is calling not simply for a halt to the armed struggle but also for creation of a coalition government and for power sharing with the opposition. Such unbiased approach brings a profound response. The people are tired of war and are moving toward peace. The agreements on Afghanistan can be signed in the nearest future if, of course, there are no states, political forces, or politicians who undertake criminal responsibility vis-a-vis the Afghan people and other people in order to wreck the settlement.

[Unidentified DPA reporter] The DPA agency. How did you come to an agreement with the Americans, with Washington, as to how and where the recent secret talks were to be held?

[Kovalev] You know, on Afghan matters we are having discussions with everyone—with the United States, with Pakistan, and with the countries of Europe. We are exchanging opinions in order to understand one another's positions better so that they will understand our aspirations better. It may be that we can help one another somehow. There was no secret conversation in Washington. The time of secret diplomacy has passed; now people are complaining more and more about public diplomacy. There was also a conversation in Washington about Afghan matters; it was held between

President Reagan and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It was held on the initiative of the Soviet side. There was nothing particularly secret about it.

[Unidentified reporter] The Soviet Union will not be influencing the future composition of the Afghan Government. What, then, is the result of your 8 years of assistance? [reporter actually says "8-year involvement" in English]

[Kovalev] In my view, the question has been put somewhat strangely, the question of the achievement, the main achievement. We consider the main achievement, our country considers the main achievement—and it strived towards this earlier when the troops went in, even earlier, in the twenties, in 1921 when the treaty was concluded—now, when we have reached an agreement on the withdrawal of troops, our main achievement is good-neighborliness and friendship with the Afghan people and with independent, sovereign Afghanistan.

[Second unidentified reporter in English with superimposed Russian translation] Will the troop withdrawals be continued if Najibullah's party is not part of the coalition government?

[Kovalev] We do not link the withdrawal of our troops to the creation of a coalition government in Afghanistan. But we do link the date of the troop withdrawal—the initial date—the time span of their withdrawal, to the signing of an agreement on a peaceful political settlement around Afghanistan.

[Third unidentified reporter] Why is it precisely on 15 May that the withdrawal of troops is commencing; by what considerations can this be explained? [Reporter begins his question in English saying: "I think this date is well calculated by your government..."; remainder of English unheard]

[Kovalev] In my opinion, this is a rather crafty question: Why the 15th and not the 14th or the 16th? One could have chosen 18 May, Karl Marx's birthday. [laughter in audience] One could approach it in various ways; I could name other fairly well-known dates which fall in the month of May. Obviously, it would be correct to approach these questions in a purely pragmatic way. The resumption of the talks in Geneva is planned—I say "planned" because Mr Cordovez, the secretary general's special representative, is now in Pakistan; he is flying to New York today—it is planned for 2 March. A certain amount of time is necessary in order to agree beforehand on the documents and to sign them. They come into force 2 months after the signing. If you work that out in your head, you will see that the date of 15 May has been chosen realistically.

[Unidentified reporter] If war suddenly breaks out again in Afghanistan after the agreement, will Soviet troops again participate in such a war?

[Kovalev] I think that you have had time to study Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement closely. Besides, you know the decision of our congress. The Soviet Union is genuinely leaving Afghanistan, and not in order, so to speak, to create any fireworks or for any other reason. That will not happen. This is a firm and consistent policy that I have tried to set out during this press conference, based on Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement.

Reconciliation Efforts Do Not Mark Capitulation

PM101643 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Manki Ponomarev article under rubric "International Observer Answers Reader": "Realism and Good Will"; first three paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Among the numerous questions posed by our readers in letters to the editor, there was an interesting point raised by Ensign G. Plaksitskiy of Kaliningrad. Here is what he writes:

"Much is being said at the moment in the press about national reconciliation processes in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Cambodia. But I am at a loss to see how one be reconciled with inveterate enemies of the Nicaraguan, Afghan, or Cambodian peoples, such as the Somozaists, dushmans or Pol Pot supporters. Isn't it a sign of weakness or gullibility on the part of those who favor reconciliation, and doesn't their attitude smack of capitulationism?"

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Manki Ponomarev replies to the reader, Ensign G. Plaksitskiy:

You are not the only one to come up with this question, Comrade Plaksitskiy. It has been posed by other readers in one form or another. So obviously it would be a good idea to analyze the problem, especially as the course of national reconciliation and political settlement of conflicts was proclaimed practically simultaneously in different "hot spots," as they are known, of the world many thousands of kilometers apart. This very fact shows that the course was not chosen by accident but was dictated by circumstances.

First of all, let us try to ascertain the essential nature of the national reconciliation policy. Let us take as an example Afghanistan, against which a brutal undeclared war has been waged now for many years. Incited and armed from outside, bandit formations have unleashed combat actions against the people's power, during which thousands of civilians have been killed and material assets have been destroyed.

So the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan, proclaimed and carried out by the revolutionary authorities, is geared to establishing lasting peace in the country and normalizing the situation around it. In other words,

the policy is intended to find a basis on which all patriotic forces of the Afghan people can cooperate on a peaceful, nonconfrontational basis. All strata, groupings, factions, tribes, and the clergy are invited to use political means to find the common denominator of their interests and, by participating in an all-Afghan dialogue, in decisionmaking, and in running the country, shape its future.

Despite all the complexities and vicissitudes of the armed struggle, which is developing according to its own laws and its own logic, the national reconciliation process is gathering momentum. The question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has actually appeared on the agenda. The Afghan-Pakistani talks, which are taking place in Geneva through the UN secretary general's personal representative, are entering the final stage. There is a chance that they will be completed soon. Then the pledge to halt outside interference, with the USSR and the United States as guarantors, will come into effect. Then the United States will stop aiding the armed groupings waging combat actions in Afghanistan against the people's power, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops will begin accordingly.

So how can one talk of gullibility, let alone capitulation by the Afghan leadership? The national reconciliation policy should be described in ths way: It is not capitulationism, but a persistent search for ways and means of ruling out a military solution of the problem and a manifestation of new political thinking.

The fact that the Afghan leadership, in implementing this policy, made some compromises is another matter. It has been stated that it will not aspire to a power monopoly, and it is prepared to form a coalition government on the broadest basis as the first step on the path to an Afghan national consensus.

But remember, Comrade Plaksitskiy, how V.I. Lenin stated the question. In his work "The Infantile Disorder of 'Leftism' in Communism," he pointed out that it is childish to reject compromise "on principle," to totally reject any possibility whatever of compromise. There are compromises and compromises, he said. You have to be able to analyze the situation and the specific terms of each compromise. He set brilliant examples of sober consideration of circumstances, the deployment of available forces, and the ability to take the right decision, agree to compromises if necessary, and swim against the current, against the opinion of his closest colleagues, who were unable to keep up with the speed of Lenin's thought and who were fascinated with revolutionary phraseology to the detriment of the revolutionary cause. A classic example of this is Lenin's struggle for the conclusion of the Brest Peace.

No, it was not weakness, it was not lack of principle, it was not capitulationism that gave rise to the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. As was stressed at the last PDPA Central Committee Plenum, it is a state policy placing the emphasis on new political thinking.

Goodwill and a highly developed sense of responsibility for the future of the country and the people also permeate the national reconciliation policy conducted by the PRK Government. It is conducted on the basis of a program for the unification of all patriotic forces to build a progressive, equal, and just society and an independent, peaceful, and nonaligned Cambodia. This policy faces many difficulties. But the PRK leadership is consistently continuing to pursue the line of national reconciliation and political settlement of the Cambodian situation. It is prepared to meet with opposing Khmer groupings and their leaders, excluding Pol Pot and some of his closest supporters, who bear the stains of crimes against their own people, and discuss ways of achieving national reconciliation.

The efforts of the revolutionary Sandinist leadership in Nicaragua are also geared to settling the complex situation in the country by political means. It is not only actively implementing the course of reconciliation elaborated at last year's Guatemala conference by the presidents of five Central American states, but recently took new decisive steps. The state of emergency that had been in existence in the country since 1982 was lifted, and direct talks began with the contras on a cease-fire.

As yet there has been no real advance toward peace in Nicaragua. The contras, with the backing of official Washington, are rejecting the realistic and humane proposals issuing from Managua.

By and large, the actions of the United States are a great hindrance to the processes of political settlement of conflicts in the world's "hot spots" and the cessation of hostilities. The State of the Union message which the U.S. President delivered to Congress the other day talks bluntly about the administration's resolve to continue supporting the "freedom fighters," as the White House calls the counterrevolutionaries of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia. The revolutionary forces in those countries have to reckon with this. But they are increasingly realizing there that fiercer armed struggle does not solve the problem. They realize that it can only lead to more victims and cause more suffering. Therefore, while delivering a proper rebuff to armed assaults by counterrevolutionary formations and those who reject talks, they are pursuing with increasing persistence the line of national reconciliation and unification of all patriotic forces for the common intertests of their peoples and states.

No, this policy is not a product of weakness. It is the product, Comrade Plaksitskiy, of a sober consideration of the situation and real concern for the peoples' interests. It is for the sake of these interests that one sometimes has to back down, maneuver, and compromise. But, as you rightly said, one cannot relinquish them.

United States and Canada

U.S. Reaction to Afghan Pullout Plans Noted

PM111519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gan from a feature under the general heading: "Example of Good Will: World Public Welcomes Soviet Initiative on Afghanistan"]

[Excerpt] Washington, 10 Feb—M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan is at the center of political life on the banks of the Potomac.

The nature of the statements made by U.S. officials gives grounds for saying that on the whole the U.S. Administration regards the Soviet leader's statement positively. According to White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, for example, the document marks "as it seems, a very good step in the right direction. The question, and this was also raised by the general secretary, depends on the progress made in Geneva at the UN-sponsored talks between Pakistan and the Kabul government. We must therefore wait until those talks begin and see how things go. But I do believe it is correct to say that at the moment we are encouraged by this step."

The response by State Department spokesman Charles Redman was couched in a similar vein: "We welcome M.S. Gorbachev's statement as a positive signal of a serious Soviet intent to leave Afghanistan. It is a step in the right direction."

For all this, it would be premature to jump to conclusions. It would appear that hints of a lack of special enthusiasm on Washington's part regarding the Soviet move are already beginning to emerge against this backdrop of positive responses. Redman, in particular, expressed the American "desire" that the USSR "shorten" the timetable for the withdrawal of its troops, essentially disregarding all the objective factors. For his part White House spokesman Fitzwater dodged the question put to him about when U.S. military aid to the dushmans would stop. Nor did the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which met today with Assistant Secretary of State Ridgway, get to learn anything specific on this score. Repeating the well-known U.S. stance, Ridgway said she did not have any "precise details." [passage omitted]

Bogachev Criticizes Carlucci Remarks on Arms

LD081851 Moscow TASS in English
1831 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

U.S. Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci recently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "arms control agreements should reduce numbers of weapons, rather than merely limit their growth". One cannot but agree with him in this respect.

However, a week later, at a theoretical conference of the West German Wehrkunde Society in Munich, Carlucci managed to turn his disarmament formula upside down, using almost the same words.

The Pentagon chief tried to convince the conference that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles should not lead to the limitarion of the arms race in other fields. In other words, bilateral disarmament in one field should, according to Carlucci, be accompanied with a NATO arms buildup in another so that to prevent a lowering of the level of military confrontation.

Carlucci proposed a large-scale programme of measures to increase NATO's nuclear potential, upgrade the existing systems of weapons of mass annihilation and develop new ones.

The defense secretary urged the allies to make more efforts to build up conventional weapons and allocate more money for military needs.

How does Carlucci see the situation in Europe in several years?

According to the new variant of the American "build-down" formula, modernisation of NATO's nuclear forces will cross out arms reductions under the INF Treaty, the London newspaper THE OBSERVER said.

Europe should accomodate at least twice as many U.S. nuclear warheads as are to be eliminated under the treaty.

By the mid-1990s, 1,300 air-based cruise missiles are to be aimed at the European theatre of operations, and 600 ballistic or ground-based cruise missiles deployed.

The range and accuracy of Lance nuclear missiles are to be increased. New B-52 bombers, carrying cruise missiles, and FB-111 planes will be stationed in the European region.

Bases of American nuclear-capable F-16 bombers will be moved closer to the borders of socialist countries.

A number of new U.S. weapons systems in Europe — sea- and air-based cruise missiles and nuclear bombers — are to replace the Pershings and Tomahawks which are to be eliminated under the Treaty.

According to Washington's estimates, Britain and France will continue building up their "independent" nuclear forces.

Instead of availing themselves of the favourable tendencies, that have appeared after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, to stabilise the military and political situation in Europe, some representatives of NATO countries tackle the problems of the future using yesterday's yardsticks and mentality, as the Munich-based newspaper ABENDZEITUNG put it.

If these rearmament plans of NATO are not checked, they will spur a new round in the nuclear arms race, which may undermine the nascent positive process in Soviet-U.S. relations.

It will also undermine trust in the United States as a partner in talks.

China

Gorbachev Statement on Afghan Pullout Recounted

OW110336 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Report on 8 February statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, on Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan]

[Text] Comrade Gorbachev said: The military conflict in Afghanistan has been going on for a long time. It is one of the most bitter and painful regional conflicts. Judging by everything, certain prerequisites have now emerged for its political settlement. In this context, the Soviet leadership considers it necessary to set forth its views and to make its position totally clear.

In the near future, a new round of talks conducted by Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal representative of the UN Secretary General will be held in Geneva. Chances are that this round will become a final one. By now documents covering all aspects of a settlement have been almost fully worked out. They include agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan on non-interference in each other's internal affairs and on the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan; international guarantees of non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs; and a document on the interrelationship of all elements of a political settlement. There is also agreement on establishing a verification mechanism.

So what remains to be done? A timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan must be established that would be acceptable to all. Precisely that, a timetable, because we adopted and announced the fundamental political decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, in agreement with the Afghan leadership, some time ago.

Comrade Gorbachev said: The question of a timetable has both a technical and political aspect. As for the technical aspect, it is clear that the actual withdrawal of troops will take a certain amount of time. There is hardly any need to go into the details of that here. As for the political aspect of the matter, the withdrawal of Soviet troops is, quite naturally, linked to the end of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Prerequisites for resolving this matter have now been created.

Comrade Gorbachev said in the statement: Setting a specific date for the troop withdrawal is aimed at facilitating a speedy and successful conclusion to the Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The date set is based on the assumption that agreements on the settlement would be signed in Geneva by 15 March and would enter into force 2 months after the signing. If the agreements are signed before 15 March, the troop withdrawal will begin earlier, and a relatively greater portion of the Soviet troops will be withdrawn during the first phase. That, of course, does not mean that no one can obstruct the settlement, or push the talks backward. But we would not like to think that some states or political figures might want to be held accountable by the Afghan people and the people of other countries for scuttling a settlement.

Gorbachev said: We believe that common sense will prevail. He reminded people that the political decision to withdraw Soviet troops was made long ago in accordance with an agreement reached with the Afghan leadership. Praising the Afghan leadership's courageous policy of national reconciliation, Gorbachev said that the success of this policy has already made it possible to begin withdrawal of Soviet troops from portions of the Afghan territory. At present there are no Soviet troops in 13 Afghan provinces—because armed clashes have ceased there.

Gorbachev said: Withdrawing the Soviet troops does not mean an end to the efforts to establish a new, coalition government in Afghanistan—i.e., the efforts to carry out the policy of national reconciliation. The withdrawal of Soviet troops, combined with other aspects of the settlement, including international guarantees of non-interference in Afghanistan, is one thing. National reconciliation and the establishment of a coalition government is another thing. This is a purely internal Afghan issue. It can only be resolved by the Afghans themselves, Gorbachev emphasized. When, however, it is hinted to us that the Soviet Union and third countries should take part in talks on that issue, our answer is firm and clear: It is none of our business. Or yours, for that matter. But could hostilities flare up even more after Soviet troops leave? It is difficult to predict the answer, but I think that such a course can be prevented if those now fighting against their brothers take a responsible attitude and try to get involved in building peace. The Geneva agreements will close the channels for outside assistance to those groups that hope to impose their will on the whole nation by armed force.

Gorbachev pointed out: If necessary, consideration could be given at that stage to using the possibilities available to the United Nations and its Security Council. Now about our boys, our soldiers in Afghanistan. They

have been doing their duty honestly, performing acts of sacrifice and heroism. Our people profoundly respect those who were called to serve in Afghanistan. The state provides for them, as a matter of priority, good educational opportunities and a chance to get interesting, worthy jobs. The memory of those who have died heroically in Afghanistan is sacred to us. It is the duty of party and soviet authorities to make sure that their families and relatives are taken care of with concern, attention, and kindness.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Gorbachev emphasized: Realization of the political settlement in Afghanistan will be an important rupture in the chain of regional conflicts. Just as the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty is to be followed by a series of further major steps toward disarmament, with negotiations on them already under way or being planned, likewise, behind the political settlement in Afghanistan already looms a question: Which conflict will be settled next? States and people of various countries have a sufficient sense of responsibility and political will to put an end to all regional conflicts within a few years. Gorbachev said: The Soviet Union will spare no effort in this most important cause.

PRC Reaction Reported

LD101338 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0948 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Beijing, 10 Feb (TASS)—A representative of the PRC Foreign Ministry said the following at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists in connection with the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan: We have taken note of the relevant communication. The speedy and complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is the key to the solution of the Afghan problem. We hope that the Soviet side will carry out as quickly as possible practical acts to speedily restore Afghanistan to an independent, neutral, and nonaligned state.

Ovchinnikov Discusses Prospects for Summit

LD082147 Moscow World Service in English 0110 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] The principles contained in the Delhi declaration we have been discussing are embodied in a package of Soviet proposals for Asia and Pacific. For instance Soviet Union has suggested negotiations to lessen naval activity in the Pacific and impose restrictions on the scale of exercises. The Soviet Union calls for working out a regional security formula, an equivalent of the Helsinki accords in Europe. The Soviet national daily PRAVDA columnist Vsevolod Ovchinnikov comments:

[Begin Ovchinnikov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] We believe that such a system should be based not on a plan worked out and put forward by a certain country, but it must be a result of cooperation and joint efforts. The Soviet concept is not a formula but an invitation to discussion. An important provision in the Soviet program on improving the situation in the region is the relations with China, which has a lengthy border with this country. A political dialogue between the two countries is in the making. Now what are the further prospects?

A Soviet-Chinese summit could become a logical continuation of the dialogue. The two sides seem to realize this necessity. Last autumn the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said that because of his age he didn't plan any trips abroad, but nevertheless he would willingly meet with the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. Mikhail Gorbachev replied that the Soviet Union also favored a summit which could take place in Moscow, Beijing or any other suitable place. He also confirmed expediency of a summit in his interview with the Chinese weekly LIAOWANG. China makes a preliminary settlement of the Kampuchean problem a reservation for a summit. But firstly, the things have begun to move and the Soviet Union and China can facilitate the success of the negotiations and promote contacts between the opposition parties. Secondly, talks between leaders are conducted to discuss and solve complex problems of bilateral and international relations.

Moscow has much more disputable issues with Washington than it has with Beijing; nevertheless the Soviet-American summits are becoming more and more productive.

Experience shows that it is summit meetings that sometimes find solutions to problems which seem to have been blind alleys. That's why I believe a Soviet-Chinese summit has become a necessity. [end recording]

Expansion of Trade With China Hailed

OW090437 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 7 Feb 88

[From "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpts] The past few years have seen the smooth development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in various fields. One of the manifestations of this fine situation is the increased volume of trade between the two countries. Statistical data show that the trade volume between the two countries has increased 10-fold since 1981. Now, the Soviet Union is China's fifth largest trade partner. It supplies China with machinery, equipment, means of transport, chemical industrial products, and lumber, while China provides the Soviet Union with raw materials, agricultural produce, and certain kinds of equipment and daily necessities. [passage omitted]

In 1988 the trade volume between the Soviet Union and China is expected to increase about 30 percent compared with last year. As in the past, the Soviet Union will supply China with industrial equipment, machinery, building materials, and electric industrial products.

China will export to the Soviet Union raw materials, chemical industrial products, and agricultural produce. Besides, China's light and textile industrial products are always well received by the Soviet Union.

The mutually beneficial Soviet-Chinese trade will continue to expand.

IZVESTIYA Cited on Future of Taiwan

OW050300 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Since Chiang Ching-kuo died on 13 January, there has been a great deal of reaction in world newspapers. They have raised a question — what will happen in Taiwan? Moscow's IZVESTIYA published an article on this topic Friday.

IZVESTIYA says: In the late seventies the leaders of the People's Republic of China proposed a comprehensive program for the peaceful reunification of China, based on the one country-two systems principle. Certain changes have also taken place in the Kuomintang's position. After Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975, Chiang Ching-kuo gradually gave up the ambitious and unrealistic plan to seize the mainland. In his later years, Chiang Ching-kuo revised the plan and made it possible for Taiwan's companies to engage in entrepot trade with the mainland. Some businessmen have begun to invest in PRC enterprises. Since 1987, people in Taiwan have been permitted to visit their relatives on the mainland. Taiwan has lifted martial law and signs of democratization have appeared there. While the relations between Beijing and Taiwan were beginning to thaw, Chiang Ching-kuo passed away. It seems that a dialogue has begun. The dialogue will go deeper and cover a wider range despite Chiang Ching-kuo's death.

But IZVESTIYA does not think that everything is so simple.

The paper points out: Some hotheaded Americans have been propounding the slogan of two Chinas, or of one China and one Taiwan, since the fifties. The purpose of the slogan is to tell people that Taiwan can become an independent country. This idea has not yet died out. To those mainlanders in Taiwan, such an idea sounds like treason and heresy. Nevertheless, senior statesmen of the Kuomintang have gradually stepped down and been replaced by their descendants who have never been to the mainland. Indeed, the majority of the residents of Taiwan are Taiwanese. The people born in Taiwan have different interests. Some Taiwanese are not interested at all in reunification of the country. Some of them do not accept the idea of national reunification for ideological reasons. There are also some Taiwanese who take note of the different living standards. Splittist elements are taking bolder and bolder actions in Taiwan. They are particularly active in the opposition parties.

IZVESTIYA writes: The splittists are of course the minority among Taiwan residents, but they have powerful backers across the Pacific Ocean. In the last several years, the U.S. Congress has adopted more than one resolution on giving wide publicity to Taiwan's self-determination [word indistinct]. The White House dares not do as the U.S. Congress has done to flatter those who advocate Taiwan independence, but in practice the Reagan Administration has made every effort to keep Taiwan as an unsinkable aircraft carrier of the United States and as an anticommunist bastion in the Pacific.

A leader of the U.S. State Department has precisely expressed the essence of Washington's line. He said: It is necessary to find a formula for reuniting the two parts of China in the next several generations. The White House, in violation of the Sino-U.S. agreement, has continued to supply Taiwan with a large number of weapons and helped Taiwan develop its military industry. White House officials still issue statements that the United States should do all it can to ensure Taiwan's security. Some people in the U.S. capital regard such a line as interference in China's internal affairs.

But how things will develop in the future will to a large extent depend on Taiwan's new leadership. Although Taiwan's new leader Li Teng-hui was born in Taiwan, there are indications that he will continue to pursue the Kuomintang's old line. Other influential activists in Taiwan's government also approve the line. Taiwan's industrialists are calling for establishing economic ties with the People's Republic of China. The People's Republic of China is ready to continue a peaceful dialogue. The CPC Central Committee has cabled the Kuomintang leaders to express its condolences on Chiang Ching-kuo's death. The General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee took the opportunity to issue a statement and urged the new leaders of the Kuomintang to make positive contributions to ending the country's division and peacefully reunifying the motherland.

IZVESTIYA writes: This is a noble objective. In order to attain it, it is necessary to overcome many ideological, political, and economic obstacles.

Northeast Asia

Upcoming U.S.-Japan Air Exercises Described

LD101410 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo February 10 TASS—Japan's Tsuiki and Kasuga air bases in the Fukuoka prefecture are to be used for the first time in the course of joint Japanese-American exercises due to begin on February 15.

Combatant planes from the Nyutabaru base, the Miyazaki prefecture, are to be drawn to the exercises which are to be held to test air battle tactics, anti-aircraft defense, reconnaissance and co-operation methods. Taking part in the exercises from the Japanese side will be 29

planes, including F-15 and F-4 fighter planes. Involved in the exercises from the U.S. side will be AWACS planes from the Kadena base in Okinawa and also combatant planes deployed on the Iwakuni base, the Yamaguchi prefecture.

Adm Sidorov Decries Japanese Naval Buildup

OW051031 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 4 Feb 88

[Report on KRASNAYA ZVEZDA interview with Admiral Vladimir Sidorov, former Soviet Pacific Fleet Commander; date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, Asian mass media have been making a great fuss, saying that the Soviet Union has been strengthening its military buildup in the Pacific. In this connection, a U.S. Defense Department source has expressed similar views. Well then, what is the actual military and political trend in the Pacific? We will now broadcast a question-and-answer interview with Admiral Sidorov, who until recently served as commander of the Pacific Fleet, with a reporter of the Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA:

First, Admiral Sidorov stated as follows: It apparently is no accident that the United States has started this propaganda campaign. The U.S. Defense Department seems to be concerned that as a result of the signing of the INF Treaty, the campaign to demand an easing of tension may become more vigorous in Asian countries. Therefore, the argument claiming the existence of a Soviet threat has again been brought up. In an interview with YOMIURI SHIMBUN, U.S. Admiral Hays said that the Soviet Union had increased its missile-carrying submarines in the Pacific. However, I can say with a full sense of responsibility that this is completely contrary to fact. In fact, the number of missile-carrying submarines has decreased.

One of the major yardsticks to judge the intention of either party concerned is the number and characteristics of military exercises it carries out. In 1987, the number of Soviet military exercises remained at the same level as in 1986 and their scale did not expand. Meanwhile, the United States in 1987 conducted many more exercises than in 1986.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Admiral Hays said that Soviet vessels were threatening the territory of the United States and other Asian countries. What is your comment?

[Sidorov] First, no Soviet vessel has been deployed near the Pacific coastal area of the United States. As things stand, U.S. naval vessels have regularly been approaching Soviet territorial waters. In 1987 alone, five American vessels came quite close to Soviet territorial waters. Meanwhile, the U.S. missile-carrying cruiser "Arkansas" intruded into Soviet territorial waters in Avachinskiy Bay on two occasions in May last year.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] It is reported that the Soviet Union has set up a forward base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. What is your comment?

[Sidorov] In accordance with an agreement signed with the Republic of Vietnam, we have a temporary materials and technology supply station at Cam Ranh Bay. In other words, the facilities are used for the supply of fuel, foodstuffs, and water, and for doing minor repair jobs or providing rest to crew members. Cam Ranh Bay has not been leased to the Soviet Union and Soviet vessels are using the same moorings as Vietnamese vessels. In fact, in 1987 the Soviet Pacific Fleet made fewer port calls at Cam Ranh than in previous years. The Soviet Union has persistently maintained that military bases in foreign countries should be removed. The Soviet Union has no intention whatsoever of turning Cam Ranh into a military base.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What impact will the Japanese military buildup carried out under the pretext of a Soviet threat have on the the situation in this region?

[Sidorov] There is nothing at all to substantiate the speculation that Japan is under any threat. Japan is not building up its naval force for the sake of defense, and it is well known what tasks the United States will assign the Japanese naval force. First, the Japanese naval force will be assigned to support an initial attack. Second, it will be asked to take over the functions currently performed by the U.S. Navy. This will enable the U.S. Navy to concentrate part of its own fighting capabilities in the Kamchatka and Okhotsk Sea region and contain the Soviet Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan. To become a coconspirator in such an invasion plot would reduce Japan's security rather than consolidate it.

The attempt at naval capability buildup is in compliance with the wishes of Japan's own revanchist forces. In this connection, such a move has aroused apprehensions not only in the Soviet Union but also in many Asian countries.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Admiral Crowe, chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, stated the other day that it would be a good idea to hold talks on measures to strengthen trust in the Asia-Pacific region. What is your comment?

[Sidorov] If the United States would go for it and take action, it would leave nothing to be desired. The Soviet plans on this issue have been clarified in General Secretary Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and before the Indian Parliament as well as in his interview with MERDEKA, an Indonesian paper.

For example, the Soviet Union has proposed holding talks on limiting the sphere of action for vessels carrying nuclear weapons and on limiting the race in antisubmarine activities. It is also necessary to solve the issue of limiting military exercises in the Pacific and Indian

Oceans. We are always ready to discuss any proposals by the United States or by Asian countries. The earlier the talks on downgrading the level of confrontation, including military action, are started, the earlier the issue of the security of neighboring countries will be resolved.

ROK Move on Political Prisoners Examined

SK070436 Moscow International Service in Korean 0930 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Talk by station commentator (Igor Lebezev)]

[Text] Seoul's attitude toward the release of political prisoners is a good example of how different words and deeds can be. It was Chon Tu-hwan, South Korea's dictator, who repeatedly declared that he would institute democratization and release political prisoners. No Tae-u also made this promise during his presidential election campaign. However, the number of political prisoners has not decreased. A total of 110 may be released. However, more than 10 times that number will remain moaning behind iron bars.

As you may note, according to data provided by off-stage opposition forces, at least 1,200 people who oppose the antipopular regime are held in South Korean prisons. Most of them are students and workers. On the occasion of No's 25 February inauguration, the Seoul authorities are planning to restore the civil rights of 1,900 so-called dissidents, who were stripped of all rights on charges of opposing the dictatorship.

At the same time they announced this plan, the authorities hinted that this does not mean that they will release all the people who are suffering political and (?religious) suppression or cancel their indictments. So-called partial amnesty will be given to moderate supporters of opposition parties, not to so-called procommunist elements. Considering the fact that the strongest fighters for democratization in South Korea are termed procommunist elements, one can easily guess how many people will remain in prison in that country.

The harsh system in South Korean prisons and the spiritual and physical pain of those stripped of their freedom because of their political beliefs make international public opinion uneasy. A report on the South Korean human rights situation released in Geneva a few days ago by the International Lawyers Committee notes that, despite an official (?ban), torture of prisoners is common in South Korea; questioning usually begins with beatings, sometimes administered using sticks; and (?detainees) are threatened with harsher tortures if they do not give in despite the beatings. The report also points out that lawyers of many countries who visited South Korea know that water and electricity are used in torturing people, that they are denied food, and that they are forced to eat salt and hot pepper, without water.

Experts in the International Lawyers Committee conclude that one cannot expect the situation to improve as long as the Supreme Court defends prosecutors' offices that do not prosecute South Korean policemen, even if they are found to have used illegal methods during questioning. In other words, the Seoul government disregards human rights in that country.

However, demands are continuously voiced in South Korea that all political prisoners be released. Such demands are voiced by major opposition parties, the Association of Relatives of Political Prisoners, and various other social organizations. The authorities are involved in suppression and illegal acts and do not fulfill promises that they will reform social and political lives. This is still characteristic of South Korean realities.

Briefs

Perishable Cargo to Japan

The USSR Firm Soyuztranzit has conducted an experiment, the transshipment of perishable cargo from European countries to Japan by the Trans-Siberian Railway in refrigerated containers. A.A. Rudnev, deputy director of Soyuztranzit, interviewed on Moscow television, spoke of the advantages to shippers in terms of time and cost and the profits the USSR can expect to make in developing this business. Rudnev said that his firm expects to undertake some 10 to 15 trainloads this year, mostly between Finland and Japan, and that his firm can expect to charge 4 to 5 times more than for handling ordinary containers. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Feb 88*]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Sihanouk Meets Khmer Rouge Leader in Beijing

OW110444 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] The second round of meeting between Prince Sihanouk and Khieu Samphan, leader of the Khmer Rouge, was held in Beijing.

Khieu Samphan has gone to Beijing with the purpose of persuading Prince Sihanouk to continue his post as the leader of the Khmer tripartite coalition Government. At the end of last month, Prince Sihanouk announced that he would leave the coalition government, which includes followers of the former Premier Son Sann as well as supporters of Prince Sihanouk and Pol Pot elements. Sihanouk called the coalition government a strange thing. Sihanouk's decision is a heavy blow to the Pol Pot elements, since they want to use the prestige of Sihanouk to maintain an outward show of the coalition government. In reality, the Pol Pot elements play an important role in the coalition government.

Laos Calls for Talks With Thailand

'Escalating Thai Aggression'

PM051709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lao Government Statement"]

[Text] Vientiane, 28 Jan—Lao radio has broadcast the text of a Lao government statement concerning the escalating Thai aggression against the republic.

In recent years, the document states, the situation on the Lao-Thai border has remained tense as a result of actions by a certain section of Thai ruling circles harboring plans to seize Lao territory. The situation surrounding three villages in the Pak Lay District (Sayaboury Province) has still to be settled. Since the beginning of 1987, the Thai authorities have sent troops to invade part of Botene District in the same Lao province, making unlawful territorial claims on the republic.

These actions run counter to the interests of the Thai and Lao peoples, who have always sought to live in peace and ensure that the border between the two countries is a border of peace and friendship.

In order to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos, the local self-defense forces in Botene District were forced to return fire to repel the invasion.

However, the Lao Government resolutely rejects the solution of any disputed issues in Lao-Thai relations with the aid of arms and proposes that they be discussed at the negotiating table in February 1988 in Bangkok or Vientiane, the statement says.

Laos demands that the Thai side cease its aggressive operations, completely withdraw its troops from the region in question, and respect Laos' sovereignty and territorial integrity. The republic's government urges the Thai Government to give a constructive response to the Lao proposals, which have the aim of strengthening friendship between our peoples, and urges the Thai people to act decisively to end the senseless bloodshed and contribute to the talks between the two countries' governments on the restoration of good-neighborly relations.

Any contribution by the world's peace-loving forces to Thai-Lao talks on ending the conflict, the statement emphasizes, would be a contribution to the task of strengthening peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world as a whole.

1907 Treaty Cited

PM051715 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[P. Tsvetov article: "The Only Sensible Course"]

[Text] The fighting on the Lao-Thai border has raged for several weeks now. The Bangkok authorities have sent troops to seize a small area (less than 70 square km) of Lao territory. Jets and heavy artillery are being used. People have been killed and wounded. The escalation of military operations is fraught with a further exacerbation of the situation in the region.

The Lao Army and people are offering resolute resistance. The Lao Government confirms its sovereignty over these lands by citing an authoritative international legal document—the 1907 French-Siamese Treaty, which established the eastern border between the two states.

Laos invites Thailand to solve the dispute through negotiation. Official Lao representatives have repeatedly stated this. This is also the point of the latest Lao government statement. However, there has been no constructive response from Bangkok.

The aggravation of the situation on the Lao-Thai border is in the interests only of those forces which are whipping up enmity between the Asian states, working on the obsolete principle of "divide and rule." The evil intent behind the events on the Thai-Lao border is particularly obvious against the background of progress in the settlement of the conflict situation in neighboring Cambodia. The prospect of establishing peace and good-neighborliness in relations between the Indochinese states is evidently not to the liking of some forces.

The Lao Government's offer to Thailand to sit down at the negotiating table is the only sensible course of action. It fully accords with the spirit of the new thinking, which gives priority to solving disputes by peaceful means. The dialogue should begin as soon as possible in the interests of the Thai and Lao peoples.

Lizichev Continues Indochina Tour

Meets Lao Leader

LD060011 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] In Vientiane, Lao leader Kaysone Phomvihan received a Soviet military delegation headed by Army General Lizichev, head of the main political directorate of the Soviet army and navy. The delegation is in Laos on an official friendly visit.

Returns to Moscow

PM081217 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Return To Moscow"]

[Text] On 6 February, Army General A.D. Lizichev, member ofthe CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and his retinue returned to Moscow, having been on friendly visits to the SRV, the PRK, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR].

The delegation was greeted at Sheremetyevo Airport by Colonel General V.S. Nechayev and Colonel General D.A. Volkogonov, deputy chiefs of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other senior political personnel.

The welcoming party included Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, and the military attaches at the SRV, PRK, and LPDR embassies in the USSR.

Further on Indonesia's Mokhtar Talks in Moscow

Holds Talks with Katushev

LD061833 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 6 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev had a meeting today with Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmadja, on an official visit in the Soviet Union. Questions of the state of and prospects for the development of commercial and economic ties of two countries were discussed.

In the evening, Mokhtar Kusumaatmadja saw a show in the Moscow circus on the Lenin hills. USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, other officials were present together with the guest.

Mokhtar Interview

BK071615 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 7 Feb 88

[Interview with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja by unidentified Radio Moscow correspondent in Moscow;date not given—recorded]

[Text] [unidentified correspondent] How are you, Your Excellency? Having met with General Secretary Gorbachev, could you describe your general impressions from the meeting, and how do you assess the outcome of talks in Moscow?

[Mokhtar] I am very happy and highly honored to have been granted an audience by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev for more than 90 minutes this morning. We discussed various issues during which the secretary general explained what is now happening in the Soviet Union, including perestroika. He welcomed Indonesian-Soviet cooperation by saying that even though the two countries adopt different political, economic, and social system, that does not pose an obstacle for maintaining good relations as long as they are based on mutual respect and benefit. As for the two countries adopting different systems, that is the choice of the two countries' peoples. After that, he described efforts to improve the Soviet Union's economic efficiency through perestroyka or restructuring [preceding word in English].

It becomes increasingly clear to me from the private talks that he appreciates ASEAN's and Indonesia's role in seeking a solution to the Cambodian problem. The solution to this Cambodian problem will have a larger impact, not only for Southeast Asia, but also for global peace. We also discussed the possibility of boosting trade and economic relations betwee Indonesia and the Soviet Union. He noted that we must make joint efforts to promote international economic cooperation, which he views as a rather unjust system, especially for Third World countries.

[Question] Your excellency is visiting our country during a period characterized by restructuring, as you pointed out. Perestroyka covers several areas, including Soviet foreign policy. Perhaps you could [word indistinct] several new elements in Soviet foreign policy which you had observed from the talks?

[Mokhtar] I said that Indonesia welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in Vladivostok some time ago. We in Indonesia hope that the Soviet Union will help solve the Cambodian problem, because for us, that will constitute proof or a manifestation of the Soviet policy announced in Vladivostok. This proof will be very meaningful, because people are in fact waiting for such proof. It is undeniable that the current government has inherited past policies.

[Question] So your excellency mentioned several things related to the solution of several regional problems in Southeast Asia? One of the new styles or approaches in Soviet foreign policy can perhaps be seen in the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States in Washington which abolished intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. What I want to know is how the accord can influence the realization of Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone?

[Mokhtar] I do not directly relate the two issues because the agreement on the intermediate-range missiles, which in fact includes the short medium-range and long medium-range [preceding words in English] missiles, was an effort to reduce the global tension by the two superpowers which own nuclear weapons, whereas the realization of a nuclear-free zone is an effort exerted by countries which do not own nuclear weapons. We cannot take part in nuclear weapons negotiations because we do not have them. The question now is how countries without

nuclear weapons can help create a world that is not threatened by nuclear war. Therefore, the two efforts are parallel and not related to one another, but have a common objective. Therefore, I do not relate the two issues. I believe the two groups must make efforts in their own way so as to attain the common objective, namely the realization of a world free from the nuclear threat.

[Question] So we [word indistinct] common objective?

[Mokhtar] Yes

[Question] Thank you. To go back to your current visit to the Soviet Union, what aspect of the direction of our two countries' relations do you find most promising? I mean with the best prospects.

[Mokhtar] In my opinion, one aspect of relations with the best prospects is the improvement of trade relations because there are many commodities the Soviet Union can buy from Indonesia which it currently still buys from other countries. There are also many commodities which Indonesia can buy from the Soviet Union. The problem is that each of us has its own traditional markets and different trading partners. It is always difficult to change this situation. We have traded mainly with Western European countries for a long time. We know the commodities and the people. That poses a problem because changing consumers' habits is not easy. Another problem is bureaucracy and how the trade is conducted. There are too many people involved in it. Too many complications. We also have a kind of perestroyka in our country which we call deregulation and debureaucratization. Therefore, we can understand how the Soviet Union is undergoing this process, where several ministries are being lumped together and so on. This certainly takes time. Therefore, even though we want to improve our trade relations, we must also be patient. Things will not take place in the coming 1-2 months because everybody must know exactly who will be in charge [words indistinct]. However, the foundations have been laid, especially by the trade mission led by Mr [name indistinct]. They are not people who merely talk, but they quickly made a list of commodities which they can offer for sale. They also arranged the mechanism for the conduct of trade. Another problem is that both Indonesia and the Soviet Union are heavily dependent on oil and gas revenues. Therefore, both face the problem of foreign exchange [two preceding words in English]. If both have plenty of foreign exchange, there will be no problem and it is easy to do business. If both are lacking in foreign exchange, then they must use a countertrade [preceding word in English] system. If we use the countertrade system, there must be an agreement with the trade partner that what has been bought can be resold to third countries. We have several agreements on this, and have thus laid the foundations.

[Question] Therefore, if there are problems, we can obviously solve them. Finally, I hope that the new political style will certainly be able to contribute toward our joint efforts to overcome all problems which have obstructed bilateral development.

[Mokhtar] I believe that perestroyka in the Soviet Union and deregulation and debureaucratization in Indonesia will be able to help intensify bilateral trade, but as I said earlier, it takes time. It is not like a medicine, like aspirin, which can cure an illness in a day.

[Question] Thank you, your excellency.

Results of Visit Hailed

BK080622 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 8 Feb 88

[(Vladimir Putkov) commentary]

[Text] The results of the official visit to the Soviet Union by Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, has drawn the attention of broad international circles. This response is indeed normal because matters discussed in the course of the meeting between the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze went far beyond the scope of bilateral relations and [words indistinct]. They discussed matters of vital interest to hundreds of millions of people living in the vast Asia-Pacific region.

It is important to note that the participants in the dialogue in Moscow agreed on the desire to develop common approaches to the settlement of problems of concern to mankind as well as of bilateral concern. This is a good sign and symptom for the future. The Soviet Union views this as a manifestation of a new-style thinking in politics [words indistinct]. Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that it is through this approach that the Soviet Union is ready, and has proved it in deeds, to develop new-style peaceful relations with any country and definitely with such a vast country as Indonesia.

The Soviet Union is confident that Indonesia's contributions to a positive process in the international arena will undoubtedly continue. This is proved, for example, by Indonesia's activities and consistency in efforts to achieve peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia. An important step in this direction can definitely be the elimination of nuclear weapons in the region. The general antinuclear trends increasingly spreading in the Asia-Pacific region figure prominently in this. Indonesia and the other ASEAN countries are, as we know, actively promoting the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia as its most important component. The 13-nation South Pacific Forum has signed the Rarotonga Treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The Soviet Union supports the treaty and was one of the first countries to sign Protocol No. 2 and Protocol No. 3 attached to the treaty. Australia and New Zealand have come out firmly against nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean. As is known, the Philippines and a number of other countries have inserted antinuclear articles in their constitutions.

It is indeed noteworthy that the issue of foreign military bases situated in the south seas of Asia (?emerged) in the recent talks between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia. Indeed, nuclear weapons are stored in many of these bases. Because of this, the bases do not serve, as people in Asia believe, to guarantee peace at all.

In the talks in Moscow, Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja spoke highly of the U.S.-Soviet Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Many people have viewed the treaty as a concrete contribution to security in Asia. In this regard, the Soviet Union says that the initiatives expounded in Mikhail Gorbachev's answers to questions by MERDEKA Chief Editor B.M. Diah last July remain valid. A very positive role could also be played by reducing the activities of the Soviet and U.S. fleets in the Pacific and the level of military confrontations as a whole. The convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean under the auspices of the United Nations to declare it a zone of peace remains an outstanding matter.

Another important aspect of the talks in Moscow was discussions over the settlement of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union views the normalization of the situation in the Asian region as (?specifically) an integral part of international security. As the talks confirmed, Moscow and Jakarta believe that all disputes should be resolved not through military means, but rather through political means. This also fully applies to the situation around Cambodia, where the initiatives for a national reconciliation are gradually moving forward in spite of the intrigues of certain external forces. The ASEAN countries can also contribute concretely to a positive process in constructive dialogues. The Soviet Union understands and views positively the initiatives made by Indonesia on this issue, among which are the regular Indonesian-Vietnamese consultations.

We would like to stress another special feature which we deem significant in the recent talks between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia. It was a common desire to seek ways to settle all problems not only for mutual interest, but also not at the expense of the interests of third countries. The Soviet Union is guided by the fact that Indonesia is the fifth largest country on our planet in terms of population and is also a fast-developing country. Indonesia is an active member of the Nonaligned Movement and contributes to the settlement of many world and regional problems. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia understand the need to eliminate nuclear weapons, end nuclear tests, and prevent the militarization of outer space. This is very important. As far as bilateral relations are concerned, these relations, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, rest upon conjectural changes on the basis of the right of every people to their respective historical development. The Soviet Union desires to promote economic, trade, and cultural relations between our two countries. There are many [semua] necessary reasons for this end. The deep-rooted, sincere, mutual respect and friendship between the peoples of our two countries can be illustrated by an Indonesian proverb "Far in Sight, But Close in the Heart."

Mokhtar Comments on Trip

LD111331 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Jakarta February 11 TASS—The meeting with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the Indonesian-Soviet talks in Moscow were very useful for the development of relations between Indonesia and the USSR, for solving regional and global problems, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja said upon his return from the foreign trip.

There are good prospects for boosting trade and economic ties between the two countries, he stressed. This is promoted, in part, by the reorganisation of the USSR's foreign trade system.

On the Kampuchean problem, Kusumaatmaja said that the talks in Moscow helped the parties to develop a better understanding of the ways for its political settlement.

SRV Party Leader Speaks on Economy

PM081639 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Tasks of Renewal"]

[Text] Hanoi, 1 Feb—A number of positive new factors which became apparent in the socioeconomic sphere last year were the result of persistent efforts by the republic's working people to fulfill the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Congress' decisions, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, has declared. He was addressing a Ho Chi Minh City CPV Committee Plenum.

The measures being taken by sectors and labor collectives throughout the country to improve forms of economic activity and enhance production efficiency have ensured a definite step forward along the path of renewing economic life in the republic. The broadening of democracy in social life and open, effective criticism of negative phenomena have become an important condition for successful progress in this direction. This has helped to deepen the democratization process and strengthen the people's trust in the party's policy.

At the same time, Nguyen Van Linh emphasized, a year is too short a time to achieve radical changes in the national economy. The weakness of the economic base takes its toll. The clumsy, bureaucratic administrative management mechanism acts as a brake on changes. The tasks of renewing organizational and cadre work are becoming all the more important. Its improvement must

be directly linked with the demands of the basic guidelines on socioeconomic building. The policy advanced by the party of the comprehensive renewal of society is a guide to action for all production collectives and for every working person in the country.

Touching on the specific tasks facing the party organization of the major economic center in the south of the SRV, the CPV Central Committee general secretary pointed to the need to increase production of industrial output, and consumer goods above all. For this it is necessary to commission more fully the existing production potential of small-scale and cottage industry and make wider use of the potential of all economic structures, including family and individual businesses. The activation of the movement for all possible economies is a major reserve of industrial growth. Ho Chi Minh City, he pointed out, can and must play a leading role in realizing the tasks facing the Vietnamese people.

Ministry Exacerbated SRV Trade Shortfall

PM101457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent M. Domogatskikh: "Exports Have Increased, But...."]

[Text] Hanoi, 3 Feb—Last year, Vietnam's foreign trade turnover exceeded the plan targets. Exports increased by 8 percent, but imports increased by a little over 14 percent. Supplies of coffee, peanuts, cinnamon, black pepper, coconut oil, rubber, tin, carpets, and ready-made clothes to the foreign market increased considerably. This was achieved despite a shortage of export materials and appropriations, a defective management mechanism, a difficult domestic market situation, and unstable prices on the foreign market.

Economic and trade links with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are of priority significance for Vietnam. But last year the plan for deliveries to the socialist countries was not fulfilled for a number of goods despite the overall increase in exports. The co-production program is slow to get going. The responsibility for this lies not only with Vietnamese, but with Soviet organizations as well, in particular the Ministry of Light Industry, which delayed the signing of contracts. As a result, the plan for the production of goods for the Soviet Union was not fulfilled.

It is planned to increase exports by 17 percent this year. That is a difficult task which will require a great deal of organizational work, mobilization of reserves, and improvement of the leadership of foreign trade activity. The aim is to switch to economic accountability [khozraschet].

SRV Economist Interviewed on New Trade Law

PM091043 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 88 p 3

[A. Romashko dispatch under the rubric "Hanoi on the Line": "Invitation to Partnership"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The law on foreign investments adopted recently by the SRV National Assembly opens up extensive opportunities for business activity by foreign states and firms in Vietnam. Our correspondent asked the well-known Vietnamese economist Luu Van Dat to comment on this law and answer a few questions.

[Luu Van Dat] A difficult socioeconomic situation has prevailed in Vietnam in recent years. The growth rate of industrial and agricultural production has dropped, which was bound to affect the population's living standard. The old, outmoded administrative edict methods of leading the economy only increased the gravity of the situation. So in December 1986 the Sixth CPV Congress adopted a truly revolutionary decision on the radical renewal of Vietnamese society's socioeconomic life.

Vietnam is a country of enormous potential. We are rich in natural and manpower resources. But to revitalize this potential and bring it into play requires considerable material resources, which we simply do not possess. To attract them from abroad is an entirely reasonable solution which is politically and economically justified under the present specific conditions.

[Romashko] How will foreign firms and companies specifically be able to take part in Vietnam's economic life?

[Luu Van Dat] Foreign investments in our economy under the new law can be most diverse: They can take the form of foreign currency, equipment, machinery, production buildings and other structures, the latest technology, and even inventions.

For our part, when participating in joint projects, we will provide natural resources, construction materials, land, sections of rivers and sea, and manpower.

[Romashko] To which spheres of the national economy does the state primarily want to attract foreign investors' attention?

[Luu Van Dat] We are particularly interested in investments in our major economic programs and, above all, in those which permit the expansion of exports and reduce imports. Investments in production sectors utilizing advanced technology and skilled manpower will be encouraged. With the help of foreign partners we would like to intensify production in order to utilize to the maximum or even increase the capacity of existing

industrial enterprises, develop the production infrastructure, labor-intensive sectors, increase employment, and develop Vietnam's raw resources and natural wealth.

Tourism, ship repairs, the servicing of aviation equipment, port facilities and other forms of services for which payment is made in foreign currency can be added to this list.

We can conclude a contract with interested foreign firms on business cooperation, for example, in the form of production sharing, create joint enterprises or joint companies, and even open enterprises entirely financed by foreign investors.

[Romashko] But how will these enterprises be managed? Will this activity not run counter to Vietnam's economic and political interests?

[Luu Van Dat] No, it will not. Councils of managers will run the joint enterprises. The number of representatives on each side in these councils will be determined in proportion to their investment. But in any case there will be at least two people in the council. The council will appoint a general director and a deputy to run the enterprise's everyday activity. The general director and his deputy must be SRV citizens. I think that this system will ensure sufficient democracy in management and at the same time guarantee that our country's interests are maintained.

[Romashko] What do you believe young people will gain from the law on foreign investment?

[Luu Van Dat] It will permit the creation of additional jobs and to a certain degree solve the problem of employment for young men and women. In addition, enterprises with foreign participation will provide additional opportunities to utilize more effectively highly qualified young workers and specialists who have been trained abroad, primarily in the socialist countries. In addition, we hope that attracting foreign capital together with other cardinal measures will assist in raising the people's, including young people's, living standard.

[Romashko] Speaking of the present, are there already specific proposals by foreign states and firms which would like to invest capital in the Vietnamese economy?

[Luu Van Dat] Yes, of course. Companies in Japan, France, Canada, Britain, Thailand and Australia are demonstrating their interest. We are already holding talks with them. True, many are still cautious—after all, Vietnam is a new partner for them.

But the socialist countries, of course, will remain our main partners. The creation of joint enterprises and the financing of major economic projects on a barter basis, participation in retooling and reconstructing enterprises—these forms of our traditional cooperation have now been given legislative backing. By the way, many of the new law's provisions have been tried and tested by the long-term successful activity of "Vietsovpetro," the first joint Soviet-Vietnamese enterprise for the exploration and extraction of petroleum. This example convinces our potential partners in the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and other states of the expediency and advantage of developing cooperation with socialist Vietnam.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Completes Talks in Islamabad

Warns Pakistan Against Delay

LD111118 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Islamabad February 11 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov met here on February 10 and 11 with Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haw, Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani.

Conversations were also held at the Pakistani Foreign Ministry.

The conversations focused on the Afghan issue in the light of the recent statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which paved the way for the earliest political settlement of that problem.

Vorontsov conveyed to President Ziaul Haw a message from the Soviet leadership which stressed the importance of the signing as soon as possible of the Geneva documents on the political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan.

It was noted that at this moment much depended on what line would be chosen—towards the earliest conclusion of the Geneva accords under which the Afghan people would be able to decide independently on their future, or towards the continuation of senseless confrontation.

The answer to this question based on the sober assessment of the situation would for long determine the entire course of events in this part of the Asian continent.

In connection with the fact that the Pakistani leaders acknowledged, on the one hand, during the conversations in Islamabad that Gorbachev's statement was extremely important, but, on the other hand, sought to delay the conclusion of the accords and make this process dependent on the establishment of a new Afghan Government, the Soviet side pointed out that the logic of this question was hard to understand.

Internal Afghan settlement was another part of the Afghan problem and it would be undoubtedly easier to find approaches to it once that external factors were removed.

Internal settlement in Afghanistan was a matter of the Afghans themselves. It would depend on them alone what paths they would choose. One could and should facilitate this process, but, naturally, not at the expense of the Geneva process.

It was firmly stated to the Pakistani leaders that the Soviet and Afghan sides stood for the Geneva Accords, for the signing of the documents in the nearest future.

Departing now from the conclusion of the Geneva process would be tantamount to frustrating their entire Afghan settlement. Its consequences would be unpredictable.

The refusal to resolve the external aspects of the Afghan problem would heighten the situation in the country, tense as it was already, and result in a fresh flareup of the armed conflict and bloodshed.

The current situation was critical and Pakistan was expected to make the necessary step that would set into motion the Geneva accords.

Leaves for Home

LD111022 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Islamabad February 11 TASS—First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov today left for home on completing his brief visit to Pakistan.

He had talks with the Pakistani leadership in connection with the statement on Afghanistan made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

At Islamabad airport the Soviet guest was seen off by first Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan Abdus Sattar and other officials.

Kovalev Cites 'Unique Chance' for Afghan Peace

PM101419 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Words Which Are Not at Variance With Actions. At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The whole world has witnessed an event which has left no one indifferent. M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan is designed to bring about a sharp turn in the course of events toward the solution of one of the most difficult and painful regional problems. This was stated 9 February by A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

News agency cables are coming in from various parts of the world so quickly that, in the words of the poet V. Mayakovskiy, "the times are humming like a telegraph wire." Such is the policy behind this historic document and such is its moral portent.

Never before has the situation in and around Afghanistan been so amenable to a settlement as today. This is a real chance and, what is more, it is a unique chance. The main thing now is not to hamper but to help those who, rather than just paying lip service, are really interested in such a settlement to avail themselves of this chance. It is important that everyone contributes to this settlement. And this applies equally to East and West, and in particular to the countries of the region—Pakistan, India, and Iran.

Clearing obstacles from the approaches to a political settlement of the Afghan problem is a laborious and tricky process which demands political courage and realism. Afghanistan's pain is not just the pain of the people who are fighting there, but also the pain of all people whose souls have been scorched by the conflagration of regional conflicts.

Is the withdrawal of Soviet forces tied to the completion of efforts to create a new coalition government in Afghanistan, which is the conclusion of the policy of national reconciliation? In our conviction it is not. The new thinking has manifested itself more clearly than ever before in the efforts to untangle the Afghan problem. The conflict there has continued unabated for many years, claiming victims and bringing suffering. Once again the truth has been confirmed that in our time, any armed conflict is capable of poisoning the atmosphere in neighboring and more distant countries, not to mention the trials and tribulations it brings to the people in the country in question.

New thinking also means new methods and a new style of conducting international affairs. The process of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan is under way with the assistance of the UN secretary general and through his personal representative, Diego Cordovez, whose personal efforts and work we highly respect and value. The Iranian leadership has been regularly briefed on these talks, and its participation in the settlement would only be welcomed. At present at the talks in Geneva—and we would like to hope that this is their final phase—the elaboration of documents embracing all the aspects of a settlement has been virtually completed.

Agreements on Afghanistan could be signed in the very near future—provided, of course, that no state, political force, or figure is ready to accept the criminal responsibility before the Afghan and other peoples for thwarting a settlement.

Journalists asked what, specifically, remains to be done at the talks in Geneva before a treaty on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan can be signed. The road is open, the USSR foreign ministry spokesman said. The talks participants must add the final commas, alter individual words, and insert the dates. On the whole, the documents—and there are likely to be four or five of them—are ready for signing.

Asked why it is proposed to begin the withdrawal of Soviet forces precisely on 15 May, he replied that "this is not pegged to any special event." It simply takes a certain time to agree the documents, which enter into force 2 months after they have been signed.

A.G. Kovalev explained why it is possible at present to speak of a unique chance as regards the possibility of a peaceful settlement around Afghanistan. The policy of national reconciliation has produced the possibility that the internal aspects of the problem can be resolved by the Afghans themselves. As for the situation outside Afghanistan, it is conducive to finally putting an end to outside interference in the country's internal affairs. The accords achieved in Washington and also the general improvement of the political climate in the world have played an important role here. The quest for a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan has taken the course of the new thinking, which is already yielding important results.

Ovchinnikov Comments on Afghanistan Statement

PM111210 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "The Way Is Open"]

[Text] Never before has the situation in and around Afghanistan been as open for a settlement as it is now. The most important thing now is not to let this real opportunity slip by, not to hamper, but to help the participants in the conflict to take advantage of it. That is perhaps the leitmotiv of responses from abroad to the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on Afghanistan.

The constructive new initiatives published simultaneously by Moscow and Kabul on 8 February were put forward by M.S. Gorbachev and President Najibullah before the next round of the Geneva talks, which could be the final round. At these talks, which have been under way for some years now between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal representative of the UN secretary general, the drafting of documents covering all aspects of a settlement is almost complete.

These are Afghan-Pakistani agreements on noninterference and on the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, a declaration on international guarantees of the cessation and nonresumption of outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, and a document on the interlinked nature of all components of a political settlement. There is also an accord on the verification mechanism. It only remains to set schedules acceptable to everyone for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

For a long time this question was represented by Islamabad and its patrons across the ocean as the main stumbling block. Kabul's calls for an end to the bloodshed were ignored. Although the essence of the policy of national reconciliation is that the opposing forces could form the future of Afghanistan not through armed struggle, but through participation in an all-Afghan political dialogue, in decision making, and in the government of the country. In response to all these arguments only one thing was heard: "Name the day and schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

And now complete clarity has been introduced on this score. Seeking to promote the successful completion of the Geneva talks, Moscow and Kabul agreed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will begin on 15 May of this year and be completed over 10 months. Second, readiness was expressed to go along with the desire for a relatively larger section of the Soviet contingent to return home in the first stage.

Third, and last, it was explained that the schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops is not tied to the completion of efforts to create a new, coalition government in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet troops in combination with other aspects of the settlement, including guarantees of noninterference, is one thing. The pursuit of the policy of national reconciliation until its completion is another. That is a purely domestic matter that can be resolved only by the Afghans themselves, even if they belong to opposing camps.

All these three aspects, which are contained in M.S. Gorbachev's Statement on Afghanistan, open up a wide path to a settlement. Attempts to block it would in these conditions be a crime not only against the Afghan people, but against all mankind.

But what if military clashes flare up even more after the Soviet troops' departure? That turn of events can be prevented if those who are now waging war on their brothers really become involved in peaceful building. And the fanatical adherents of violence should remember that the Geneva commitments will bar the path to the imposition of their will on the whole people by armed force.

The Afghan problem has been used from year to year as a kind of "brake shoe" to block peace initiatives. The Soviet Union, for instance, made a sincere appeal for an end to nuclear tests and unilaterally stopped its explosions for 18 months. It proposed a historic program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century. Yet the hawks across the ocean went on

saying: Afghanistan first, regional conflicts first. Until they are settled, it is pointless to talk about the cardinal problems of war and peace or embark seriously upon nuclear disarmament. It was this false premise that was the subtext of a saying once fashionable in the White House: "Peoples do not distrust each other because they are armed. They arm themselves because they do not trust each other." It took the meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington for that aphorism to give way to another, this time indisputable: "Trust, but verify."

However, the tendency to refer to Afghanistan in order to avoid a direct reply to constructive Soviet initiatives continues to this day. For instance, the Soviet Union has put forward a detailed program of measures designed to improve the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, limit military activity there, lower the level of military confrontation, extend confidence measures on the European model to the region, and give guarantees of the nonuse of nuclear weapons against states which pledge not to have such weapons on their territory.

You would expect, of all countries, that Japan, whose economy is particularly dependent on imported resources and exports of output, the country of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which has proclaimed the "three nuclear-free principles," would actively respond to the Vladivostok appeal. But seeking to please the ally across the ocean, Tokyo is to this day stubbornly saying: Afghanistan first. Until that knot is untied, they say, there is nothing to say about the all-Asian process. The same old "brake shoe."

It is true that everything in the world is interlinked. But the new thinking is manifested specifically in using that interdependence not to the detriment, but to the benefit of the historic task of our day: that of improving the international situation, preventing nuclear catastrophe, and ensuring mankind's survival. Common sense suggests that this requires energetic actions "on all fronts," so that success in one area helps promote progress in others.

If the arms race, which we are trying so persistently to stop and in which we have already made some progress, is a senseless flight toward the abyss, then regional conflicts are bleeding wounds capable of creating seats of gangrene on mankind's body. Each of them involves not only the grief and pain of the peoples involved in the bloodshed in Afghanistan or Cambodia, the Near East or the Persian Gulf, South Africa or Central America. Every armed conflict, including domestic ones, creates an atmosphere of anxiety for its neighbors. Any small fire can flare up into an extensive conflagration.

The nuclear threat and regional conflicts. These two dangers, like the ways of saving ourselves from them, are ultimately interconnected. Just as behind the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles a line of further major steps in the nuclear disarmament sphere forms up, so the coming of the long-awaited peace to Afghan soil could be an important breakthrough in the chain of regional conflicts. This idea was expressed exhaustively by President Najibullah: "Let Afghanistan be the first country to play its historic role along the present crucial path in the cause of the settlement of regional conflicts, the first to display a profound responsibility for the future of international peace."

Kabul has every right to speak of its responsibility to history. All that is necessary is for the other participants in the conflict to be guided by this same feeling. Not to use "linkages" of various kinds as a brake, but to see the true interconnection between phenomena and processes in the modern world—that is the duty of the sober-minded politician.

The positive changes that have taken place in the international atmosphere since the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington have indisputably improved the preconditions for a settlement of the Afghan problem in the near future. But another interconnection is also clear. The policy of national reconciliation pursued by Kabul, as a model of the new political thinking on the Afghan side, is in turn exerting a beneficial influence on the international climate. Both in itself and as a possible model for the settlement of other regional conflicts.

There can hardly be any doubt that the entry into force of agreements on Afghanistan would improve the atmosphere for the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and be an important additional precondition for the fruitful conduct of the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow.

Thus the way to a settlement of the Afghan problem is open. This does not, of course, mean that nobody can block it now or hold back the talks. But one would like to believe that common sense will prevail and a unique opportunity will not be lost.

Afghan National Front Supports Soviet Position

LD111209 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 11 TASS—The National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan has adopted a document in connection with the statements made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah.

The document says that the statements have evoked much interest on the part of the Afghan people and for this reason the National Front finds it necessary to clarify its position on questions connected with the Geneva talks and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. From the very beginning of the talks in Geneva Afghanistan treated them most constructively,

displaying flexibility and readiness for compromises. The policy of national reconciliation now pursued in Afghanistan gave a new impulse to the talks. Now that the successful completion of the talks has become a real possibility the National Front states is profound satisfaction with the progress achieved in many ways thanks to the full mutual understanding between the USSR and Afghanistan. The document expresses gratitude to the Soviet Union for its efforts in the cause of preserving Afghanistan's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. The National Front called on all members of this biggest public organisation in the country to take an active part in the process of restoring peace in the country and implementing the policy of national reconciliation.

Keshtmand Addresses Kabul Youth Seminar
LD101503 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 10 TASS—The youth seminar, whose watchword is education, development and society, has opened in the Afghan capital today. Attending the seminar sponsored by the information centre of Asian students and the Democratic Organization of the Youth of Afghanistan are representatives of 39 student organizations from 20 countries, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

The opening session of the seminar was addressed by Soltan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan. The forum of the prestigious Asian student organization, the first to be held in Afghanistan, he said, has been convened at a crucial juncture in world history. The peoples of the world need more than ever mutual understanding in the name of universal peace and progress. The vital need for establishing new international relations, for new political thinking is ripe now. A good example of political realism has been demonstrated by the Soviet and American leaders who signed the history-making INF treaty. It also takes new political thinking in resolving Asia's problems, Soltan Ali Kestmand continued. In that connection he pointed to the importance of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives concerning the settlement of the Asian problems.

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan and Iran, S.A. Keshtmand underscored the importance of the national reconciliation policy put forward by the Afghan leadership. This policy is aimed at the elimination of tensions in the country and in the region through peaceful, political methods. We will steadfastly follow the policy of reconciliation, which is the sole real way out of the crisis. We have undertaken and will further undertake the necessary steps to form a coalition government, to ensure more democracy in public and political life, a total ceasefire, the speaker stressed. He spoke highly of the USSR's aid to the Afghan people in the defence of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and development of her economy.

Touching upon the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, Soltan Ali Keshtmand pointed that their success would be an important contribution to the world-wide process of relaxation of tensions. Afghanistan will again take a constructive stand at the upcoming round of talks so that it should be a concluding one. The head of the Afghan Government drew the attention of the audience to the statements by Mikhail Gorbachev and Najibollah. He stressed that the fixing of an exact date for the start of the return home from Afghanistan of the limited contingent of the Soviet troops is a fresh manifestation of good will by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan.

Touching upon the questions pertaining to the participation of young people in the settlement of the world and regional problems, Soltan Ali Keshtmand spoke highly of the role played by the young people of Afghanistan in the popular struggle for putting an end to war and restoring peace.

The seminar will be in session for two days.

Afghan Public Reaction to Gorbachev Statement
LD101804 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev on Afghanistan is of immense importance, said Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil. The good will shown by the Soviet Union will undoubtedly be understood and appraised throughout the world. There are now no arguments left for the enemies of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

[Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] The Afghan people have had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with two most important political documents at the same time: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement and the text of President Najibullah's television address were published in the newspapers.

Of course, very few people have been able to read these reports for themselves. The level of illiteracy among the population is still very high, but, as always happens here, the news began to spread along the roads, through the villages, down the city streets, in the bazaars, and from person to person. More and more people are beginning to realize that it is now a question of the very existence of the people who have for a long time been drawn into one of the bloodiest and most painful of regional conflicts. Now that certain prerequisites have been created for a settlement to it, when the working out of documents has almost been completed at the Geneva talks, and

when the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, apart from an agreed political solution, have acquired a specific time and date for possible implementation, much depends on the Afghan people themselves, who have for years been separated by hostility, mutual errors, and insults.

We spent several hours today in the city streets and in the squares and bazaars of Kabul together with activists who have been holding a sort of public opinion poll here, if you like. And now, at the end of the day, we have agreed with Comrade (Krikhany), an employee of the PDPA Central Committee apparatus, to try to make some kind of summing up or generalization.

[Begin (Krikhany) recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] It is difficult to generalize at present. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement and President Najibullah's speech gave rise to many opinions, at times opposing ones. One thing is clear: a desire for peace. I noted a few comments. We did not trust politicians very much before, one merchant said. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke openly, honestly, and specifically about the Soviet position. It would be a good thing if all the interested states did the same.

And here is the opinion of a teacher, (Litsea). It is not a very typical one. One should not put all the responsibility for a possible failure at Geneva on Pakistan. The Kabul leadership should also act more decisively.

And here are the words of a soldier. The Soviet friends helped us to defend the new state. If, once they have gone, those who are now fighting against us try to spread carnage, they will come up against the will of the people for peace [words indistinct] and do not meddle any more in our affairs. [end recording]

[Leshchinskiy] Of course, such an incomplete selection of individual opinions cannot cover the whole range and depth of the problems relating to the situation in Afghanistan today. However, here is another more general judgement. It concerns the sincere respect, which is very important for the Afghans, with which the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the whole policy of our country, which is striving to have on its southern border a peaceful, independent, nonaligned, and neutral neighboring state, is imbued.

Afghan Refugees Reportedly Return Home

LD091750 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 9 TASS—BY TASS correspondent Oleg Luzmin:

Tribal chiefs and elders in the eastern Afghan province Paktia, holding a Jergah (assembly) in the city of Gardyz, have decided to help establish peace zones in their respective areas and villages.

Civil self-defense units will be set up and earlier formed home-guard tribal detachments reinforced with this aim.

In Paghman District in Kabul Province security forces, tipped off by local people, have discovered a big ammunition cache beloinging to an extremist group. BAKHTAR NEWS Agency said the cache contained a large number of hand grenades, shells, cartridges and explosives.

Another group of Afghan refugees, in the meantime, has returned home from Iran. All of them were provided with material aid. After being offered a possibility to rest, all the former refugees, who numbered more than 200 people, were provided with transportation to take them to their native villages.

A 50-strong armed group led by Mohammed Zarif [name as received] went over to the side of the government several days ago. Explaining his decision, he told BAKHTAR NEWS Agency:

"Like many of my compatriots, I formed a wrong idea of the situation shaping in this country initially and, deciding to fight against the 'infidels from Kabul' and 'foreign occupiers', joined the 'Mujahidin'.

"A short time later I was sent to Pakistan to receive weapons for the gang. While there, I woke up to the hard life of people separated with their fatherland.

"The plight of children is especially grave, with several kids dying at refugee camps every day because of hunger and the absence of doctors and medicines.

"It was then that I started to ponder whether the dubious slogans of counter-revolution are worth all this suffering....

"But conditions prevented us from leaving the extremists. It is only after the proclamation of a national reconciliation policy that we have finally decided to stop the senseless bloodletting."

Indian Defense Minister Continues Moscow Visit

Visits Air Unit

PM101501 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] On 9 February K.C. Pant, defense minister of the Republic of India, visited an air unit at Kubinka, where he familiarized himself with combat hardware and the life of Soviet airmen. Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, met the guest from India and provided explanations.

On the same day the Indian defense minister visited a unit in Moscow Military District.

Received by Ryzhkov, Yazov

PM111403 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Reception of Indian Defense Minister"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on February 10 received in the Kremlin India's Minister of Defence Krishna Chandra Pant, who is on an official friendly visit in the Soviet Union. General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternative member of the Politiburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Defence of the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Views were exchanged on questions of further developing Soviet-Indian relations on the basis of the 1971 treaty and the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free and Non-Violent World. It was stressed that cooperation between the two countries has advanced to new frontiers as a result of the meetings between the Soviet and Indian leaders in 1985-1987.

The sides confirmed their mutual striving to press for a consistent implementation of all the accords reached at these meetings, both as regards ensuring universal peace and security and as regards improvement of the multifaceted Soviet-Indian cooperation. The conviction was expressed that the high level and depth of content of the Soviet-Indian relations, the fruitfulness of the political dialogue, of economic and scientific-technical ties, and the breadth of the cultural exchange accord with the interests not only of the peoples of the two countries, but also of the entire world community as an example of peaceful coexistence and as a factor in asserting a new just and democratic international order.

When the situation in the world was discussed, special attention was given to the settlement of the Afghan problem in light of the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the televised statement by the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, Najibullah, which determined real preconditions for a political solution of one of the most complex and drawn out regional conflicts.

On behalf of the Indian leadership, Krishna Chandra Pant welcomed the Soviet Union's constructive line in international affairs. He stressed the importance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and American Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has become a historic landmark on the road to nuclear disarmament.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers spoke highly of India's efforts to achieve an improvement of the international situation and a solution of outstanding issues between states by way of talks.

The following also took part in the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere: on the Soviet side—V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; and on the Indian side—T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR; S.K. Bhatanagar, secretary in the ministry of defense; and V.S. Arunachalam, adviser to the minister.

Meets Gorbachev

BK111319 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] The Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, has appreciated the steps taken by India for improving the international situation. He was talking to the defense minister, Mr K.C. Pant, at the Kremlin. They reviewed bilateral relations and cooperation besides general global issues.

Mr Pant conveyed the prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's message of good wishes to the Soviet leader.

Mr Pant earlier met the Soviet prime minister, Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov. The defense minister is leading a high level delegation to the Soviet Union. He will visit major Soviet army, air and naval centers during his stay.

Tours Country

LD111444 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—Defense Minister of the Republic of India Krishna Chandra Pant left Moscow today for a tour of the country. He is on an official friendly visit to the USSR.

Sources Deny Death of PDRY's Al-Bid

JN101430 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 8 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Moscow—Diplomatic sources have told AL-ITTIHAD that the surgical operation performed on 'Ali Salim al-Bid has succeeded and that the YSP Central Committee secretary general is in good health.

The sources denied reports that the YSP Central Committee secretary general had died and added that press correspondents in Moscow can visit him at any time. Soviet sources told AL-ITTIHAD that the Soviet health minister visited Al-Bid yesterday and that the USSR will issue a statement on the operation and Al-Bid's health condition.

Protocol on PDRY Oil Contracts Signed

LD092135 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1838 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Feb (TASS)—Soviet-South Yemeni talks ended here today with the signing of a Soviet-Yemeni protocol to the 28 July 1987 General Agreement Between the USSR and PDRY Governments on Cooperation in the Comprehensive Exploitation of Oil Deposits in the PDRY.

The protocol envisages that Soviet organizations will carry out contract work for the comprehensive exploitation of the oil deposits in Amal [name as received] and Western Ayadh, including the drilling of operational wells, the provision of surface facilities for the oilfields, and construction of an oil pipeline. They will also assist in the exploitation of these oil deposits, the training of national cadres, and the execution of other work.

The protocol was signed by Konstantin Katushev, USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, and Salih Abu Bakr bin Husaynun, deputy chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers and minister of energy and minerals.

Other documents on cooperation in this field also were signed.

Israel, U.S. Discuss Missile Program

LD101153 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Vladimir Aleksandrov commentary]

[Text] According to news agency reports, talks are in progress between the United States and Israel on U.S. participation in the Israeli program for building the Arrow missile which is designed to hit tactical targets. Washington is prepared to take on up to 80 percent of the cost of this project which, according to Pentagon estimates, will cost over $100 million. Here is a Mayak commentary. Vladimir Aleksandrov, journalist on international affairs is at the microphone.

[Aleksandrov] It should be noted that U.S-Israeli cooperation on this matter is directly linked with Tel Aviv's agreement to take part in the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative of President Reagan. It is well known that Israel was the first to respond to Washington's appeal to participate in Star Wars plans, well ahead of even the U.S. Atlantic allies. What is more, the Zionist leaders in Tel Aviv, cherishing their dream of a greater Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates did not see any need to conceal their delight at the U.S. proposal, for they are confident that participation in the U.S. space venture will give Israel not only access to the most modern military technology, but also the opportunity to try to acquire new fatal weapons for the purposes of further expansion in the Near East.

It cannot be said that this is Israel's first step to the stars. The data which they have gained with the help of U.S. spy satellites on neighboring Arab countries has given the Israeli warriors an idea of the advantages of militarizing space. Even now there are laser stations in operation in Israel taking information from U.S. space espionage installations. There is also a program aimed at the future creation, with help from across the ocean of course, of their own space systems for delivering nuclear weapons.

These plans are giving rise to still greater anxiety in light of the fact that Israel, as has emerged from statements made by Mordechai Vanunu, the nuclear technician, already possesses quite a large quantity of nuclear supplies. The Zionists now cherish dreams of domination in the Near East. Who knows? Perhap when they gain access to the technology of the 21st century they will wish to extend their hegemony outside that region as well. But it looks as though Washington has no idea of the reality of this threat and that it has given in to some sort of euphoria at the Israeli position. And how! Indeed, against a background of almost ubiquitous sharp criticism of U.S. Star Wars plans, the Israeli support for this favorite offspring of the current Washington Administration could not be more welcome to the White House.

Former Iranian Envoy Conveys Anniversary Wishes

LD111128 Moscow World Service in English 0110 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] In Iran the people are marking the ninth anniversary of the 1979 revolution. A Moscow Radio reporter has interviewed the former Soviet ambassador to Iran, Vladimir Vinogradov, who is now foreign minister of the Russian Federation:

[Begin recording] [Vinogradov in Russian, fading into English translation] On the anniversary of the Iranian Revolution, I, as a witness of those events, would like to convey best wishes to the entire people of Iran, to all the fighters for the freedom and happiness of their country. Being in Iran in those turbulant days, I was able to see that the revolution was indeed a popular one. We Soviet diplomats were witnesses of the heroic and self-sacrificing deeds of the Iranians, of the students, workers, intellectuals, of people of practically all classes and walks of life, who fought to bring down the monarchy and ensure a better future for the country. The Iranian people paid a high price for their victory. Scores of thousands died in the struggle. The Soviet people welcomed the Iranian revolution and denounced the imperialists' plans to crush it. At a critical time for Iran, the time of an economic blockade and th threat of a military invasion by the United States, the Soviet Union condemned interference in Iran's internal affairs. The revolution opened up major prospects before the Iranian people. However, because of different reasons, both internal and external, the country was not able to take full advantage of them. One very big obstacle in the way of developing

the Iranian Revolution is the Iran-Iraq war. This is a sanguinary and senseless war for the people of both countries and is to the advantage of the imperialists alone.

As for the Soviet Union's attitude toward that war, it is very clear. The Soviet people would like to have the war ended speedily and to see the conflict between Iran and Iraq settled by peaceful, political means. And the chances for that are now good. The sides could also rely on international support. I have in mind the well-known Security Council Resolution 598, which offers a good foundation for seeking reasonable solutions, provided there is a mutual desire for that. [end recording]

In conclusion, former Soviet Ambassador to Iran Vladimir Vinogradov, who is now foreign minister of the Russian Federation, wished that the Iranian people would also celebrate the 10th anniversary of their revolution in conditions of peace.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Behind Coup in Bophuthatswana

LD101322 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Harare February 10 TASS—According to reports from the Republic of South Africa, a change of the puppet administration took place in the pseudo-independent bantustan of Bophuthatswana. Radio South Africa announced today that the military deposed and arrested "President" Lucas Mangope in a bloodless "coup". The local population were ordered not to report to work and stay at home.

News agencies write that the civilian administration of Bophuthatswana was deposed on the instruction of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to suppress the broadening anti-racist actions of the population of the reservation. Pretoria also considered as absolutely inadmissible the appearance in the bantustan late last year of parliamentary opposition to the so-called "Democratic Party of Bophutahatswana" headed by Lucas Mangope. In Pretoria's opinion, the military will be tougher towards the population discontented with apartheid.

A similar "coup", wholly and entirely inspired by Pretoria, took place in another bantustan, Transkei, last December.

East Europe

Further on Orzechowski's Moscow Visit

Dinner Speeches

PM111255 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Talks ended 10 February between E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister, who is on an official friendly visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

E.A. Shevardnadze gave a dinner in M. Orzechowski's honor.

It was attended by the officials accompanying the Polish foreign minister and, on the Soviet side, by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, A.K. Antonov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and the leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments.

Addressing the guest, E.A. Shevardnadze said:

We expect a great deal from our conversations. They will give us the chance mutually to deepen our understanding of the processes and trends of the times and work out the most effective way for our countries to act in the international arena.

We are both entirely clear about the fundamental aims of our cooperation. During the meetings and contacts between M.S. Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski all the requisite guidelines for this have been formulated.

The Soviet Union and Poland are collaborating on a very wide range of problems of world politics.

Our chief priority lies in the security sphere. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is our common achievement. The talks with the U.S. side were about armaments which also pose a direct threat to Poland's national security. The result of the treaty signed by M.S. Gorbachev during the Washington visit and fully supported by the leaders of the fraternal parties and states at their Berlin meeting will be a considerable reduction of nuclear arms capable of reaching Polish territory.

No matter how important the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles might be, it is even more important not to allow this historic breakthrough to be merely a bright episode in history.

This is our preoccupation today. For we can see that disarmament has its opponents and they are hard at work inventing new arguments to quickly plug the breach in the dam which retains nuclear arsenals at a dangerous level.

They are talking about other armaments compensating for the missile reductions. We too believe that compensation is necessary, but compensation of a different kind: The conclusion of one set of talks should be compensated for by greater activity at the talks on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive armaments, a determined sprint to the finishing tape at the talks on the

prohibition of chemical armaments, and the start of full-scale talks on a radical reduction of levels of conventional armed forces with the elimination of asymmetries in them.

The USSR and Poland, together with the other socialist countries, propose that this is the way to embark on the strengthening of European security. It is weakened today because of:

—the overall excessively high level of armaments and armed forces on the continent, including tactical nuclear weapons;

—the dangerous concentration of such armaments and armed forces in particular areas of the zone of contact between the two military-political alliances;

—the sides' mutual distrust of one another's intentions.

That is the situation. It has developed over time from individual decisions and the reaction to them. The chain of action and counteraction has sometimes been set in motion by invalid assessments, perfectly understandable emotions, exaggerated suspicions, and totally irrational reasons.

One way or another, this is our inheritance. On the one hand, we all realize it is dangerous to live with. On the other hand, it would be an illusion to think it can be renounced so easily.

Was it easy to renounce hundreds of nuclear missiles? As far as nuclear armaments are concerned, the principle "The fewer, the safer" is beginning to assert itself. Why not apply it to conventional forces and armaments?

It seems to us that the "Jaruzelski Plan" could provide a fine basis for a substantive dialogue between East and West on European security problems. The overall approach and method of solution and the specific proposals contained in this plan make it possible to engage, from realistic positions taking into account the interests of all sides, in a search for mutually acceptable accords.

European security means disarmament and detente measures not only from the Atlantic to the Urals. The dimension from the Mediterranean to the Arctic Ocean is no less valid.

We Europeans are not going to benefit much if the arms race passes from the land into the cold seas of the north. Our pan-European home would be left without a roof unless a layer of insulation is provided for, consisting of additional measures on confidence building and limitation of naval activity across the European north. It was this reality that dictated M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk initiatives.

As a north European socialist country, Poland is well aware of the importance of this aspect of the European situation. We value its support for the Murmansk initiatives and see here new opportunities for our cooperation.

Neither the Soviet Union nor Poland has ever reduced the security problem to geographical regions. We have always regarded it as indivisible. Both our countries are consistently advocating and acting in favor of the settlement of regional conflict situations. Poland's positive role in the peacekeeping activity of UN forces and observers is well-known.

We adopt a common stance regarding assessment of the Afghan problem and ways of tackling it. This was manifested also in the fact that the Polish leadership welcomed CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan. The position set out in this document is convincing evidence of the Soviet Union's sincere wish to ensure that peace comes to Afghan soil and the people of the country arrive at national reconciliation.

In this connection special significance is attached to the completion of the Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan which have been conducted through the mediation of the UN secretary general's personal representative. A breakthrough in this area would give hope not to Afghanistan alone but to many other states situated in hotbeds of regional conflict.

We view all the questions we are discussing in the context of strengthening Soviet-Polish relations and our fraternal cooperation.

We can be completely satisfied with the development of our ties in all areas. It is taking place in conditions of the dynamic and profound processes occurring both in the Soviet Union and in Poland. In the conditions of the democratization of public life in our countries and the assertion of an atmosphere of glasnost it is not only current tasks that appear in a new light. It is necessary to analyze the complex and also the tragic events of the past which sometimes cast a shadow on our activities today. This work is already being done by Soviet and Polish historians.

The fact that we can talk openly about this is evidence of the strength of our relations and the confidence that our fraternity is strong. We set great store in it and will do everything to protect it.

May the close collaboration between the CPSU and PZPR, the alliance bonds between the USSR and Poland, and the indestructible Soviet-polish friendship strengthen and develop further.

M. Orzechowski spoke in reply.

I am glad, he said, to have the opportunity to again visit the Soviet Union—Poland's main ally and closest neighbor—and the capital of the great socialist power—homeland of restructuring.

I cordially thank the USSR Council of Ministers and you personally, dear Eduard Amvrosiyevich, for the invitation. My visit is taking place in the atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect, allied partnership and fraternal solidarity that is typical of Polish-Soviet relations.

Our talks express complete unanimity of assessments, views, and intentions. We are having a sincere and profound exchange of opinions on topical questions of mutual relations and international activity, in the interests of both states, the socialist community, peace, and security.

We note with satisfaction that the varied and multifaceted collaboration between our countries' diplomacies is well attuned to the new content and pace given to our relations by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This collaboration gives powerful impetus to and paves the way for contacts and cooperation in various spheres.

We in Poland view with great sympathy, recognition, and ardent wishes of success the great cause of restructuring, which is revolutionary in its content and scale. We express complete solidarity with the CPSU and Soviet people in their efforts to implement the essentially Leninist course of restructuring and give socialism a new dynamism and a new luster. This is of enormous significance for the entire socialist community and for the whole world.

Polish-Soviet relations are resolutely entering a qualitatively new stage. Broad horizons are opening. New opportunities and new hopes are emerging. Their form is determined by mutual respect, sincerity, and trust.

The Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed 21 April 1987 on the 42d anniversary of the treaty of alliance was an unprededented document of exceptional importance. The joint accomplishments account looks very healthy.

Of particular value is the fact that the harmony between revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland unites not only the leaders of the parties and states but also gives our relations an ever increasing interpersonal dimension. The elimination of existing and inherited barriers and complexities in our joint and national past promotes rapprochement and concord and the strengthening of friendship. This is also served by the identification and propagation of all that has united us and created genuine links between Poles on the one hand and Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, and other peoples of the Soviet Union on the other. May the cordial and close relations between our leaders and political and public figures be emulated by millions of people in our countries.

The idea put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, the idea of an all-embracing system of international peace and security, is bearing the fruit for which we have all been waiting.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will go down in history as an example of businesslike dialogue, sensible compromise, and realism. We see it as a major success for the peace strategy of the USSR and the entire community of socialist countries. We believe the next summit meeting, in Moscow, will lead to very significant accords in Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly in the sphere of strategic arms cuts.

The "new political thinking" concept was the source of the development of these positive trends. Today it is a universal and effective method of approaching world problems, confirming that Marxism-Leninism is a dynamic and creative teaching.

We use this teaching as our guide in the quest for ways of lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe, and we are making our own contribution to this work. This is the Jaruzelski Plan—a plan to reduce armaments and increase trust in central Europe. It was immediately backed by the Soviet Union and other allied states and is now the subject of increasingly keen interest and dialogue between European countries.

Poland is deeply and naturally dedicated to the idea of the "Europeanization of Europe"—identical to the idea of a "common European home." Its joint construction is impossible without respect for the territorial and political realities that have taken shape since World War II. Because the questioning of these gives rise to terrible consequences for peace and security in Europe and for the climate of trust which is so essential in relations between the countries of our continent. As always, we are fully resolved to jointly oppose any attempts to undermine the existing order. Poland, the Soviet Union, and the other European countries are advocating a future Europe of peace and cooperation which will overcome division and jointly solve problems and eliminate threats.

Unfortunately, obstacles are being erected on this path. We are particularly concerned about the doctrines of and attempts at "compensating" NATO for the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles via programs to "upgrade" nuclear and conventional arms.

We expect the Vienna CSCE meeting to speed up its work and conclude it by adopting weighty decisions. We attach key significance to the speediest elaboration of a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In coalition with the forces of dialogue and detente we must do all we can to strengthen peace and security. The socialist community's peace program and the initiatives of our individual countries form a rich list of proposals geared to reducing the level of military confrontation and creating mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

In conclusion, allow me once again to express profound satisfaction at the opportunity to be on Soviet soil again, in Moscow, and also in the historical second capital, Leningrad, which is so dear to my heart. These feelings are accompanied by the very best wishes to all Soviet people, to the entire foreign service, and to you personally, comrade minister—wishes for new accomplishments in the great cause of restructuring, in the tireless struggle for a peaceful future for the entire world.

M. Orzechowski proposed a toast to the future success and prosperity of the fraternal Soviet Union and cordial and close friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

The dinner took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

Concludes Shevardnadze Talks

LD101817 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and minister of foreign affairs of Poland, ended here today.

Marian Orzechowski is staying in the USSR on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD101729 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met today with Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and minister of foreign affairs of Poland, who is staying in the USSR on an official visit.

Marian Orzechowski conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev sincere wishes of success in the many-sided work for the putting into practice of resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee sent to him by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the State Council of Poland. On his part, Gorbachev wished Jaruzelski, Communists and the fraternal Polish people in general success in the solution of the problems facing them, as well as further progress in the building of socialism.

Gorbachev expressed high appreciation of the development of all-round Soviet-Polish relations and said that the transfer of political decisions on the consolidation of friendship between the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party, between the Soviet Union and Poland to the practical field of developing cooperation in the political, economic, ideological, diplomatic and other spheres of the life of society was of much importance today.

During the conversation its participants pointed out with satisfaction the deepening of cooperation between the peoples of the two fraternal countries. The declaration of Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science and culture signed by the leaders of the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party on April 21, 1987, in Moscow opens up favourable opportunities for it. In this connection Gorbachev emphasized the importance of a profound scientific analysis of problems connected with the history of relations between our two countries and nations in which there are many episodes showing mutual assistance of revolutionary and democratic forces in the struggle against fascism an in socialist development. There were negative moments in our history as well. During the study of this or that problem it is important not to remove it from an overall context of that time in order not to replace one half-truth with another.

Gorbachev dwelt on the work of the CPSU for democratization and the implementation of a radical economic reform. We have examined thoroughly and objectively the house where we live and proposed a reorganization in the sphere of home policy. We have studied the world in which we live and have come up with a new political thinking in the sphere of foreign policy.

The reorganization (perestroyka) which directly affects millions of people is gaining in scope, revealing an enormous creative potential of Soviet people.

During the discussion of international problems the sides emphasized their mutual resolve to step up efforts aimed at warding off the nuclear threat, consolidating peace and security in Europe and the world in general in close cooperation with other fraternal socialist countries, with all the peace-minded forces of the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev's scheduled visit to Poland was also discussed during the conversation.

The conversation was attended by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

It was held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Holds News Conference

LD102059 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Marian Orzechowski [Polish minister of foreign affairs] met with Soviet and foreign journalists in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' press center before his departure for Leningrad.

[Reporter S. Starodomskaya] Poland's minister of foreign affairs highly appraised the significance of the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He described his conversations with Soviet officials, noting that they took place in an atmosphere of full unanimity of views, trust, and allied partnership. Comrade Orzechowski stressed that bilateral relations are developing in accordance with the requirements of political and socioeconomic reforms in Poland and in the Soviet Union. Comrade Orzechowski was asked many questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified questioner] How do you evaluate the picture being drawn in the West in connection with events in Poland in recent years? What is your opinion of the objectivity of Western mass news media in this respect?

[Orzechowski in Polish with Russian translation by interpreter] If I didn't know my country and only read what is written on the subject in the West, then I would have a picture of a country where either a revolt has arisen, where almost an insurrection is taking place against the government and against the existing system, or a country which has sunk into complete apathy. But you see, the truth is quite different. We are all aware that the operation connected with the raising of prices is a painful one. By no one and nowhere is such a measure accepted with enthusiasm, but I think it is being received as a whole in Poland with great understanding. There is no other way to carry out reforms. There is no other way to make economic indicators reliable. There have not been any kind of revolts or demonstrations of a special nature. I think that as a result society has given the government and the authorities a large measure of trust, but his trust imposes obligations to undertake everything possible so that the results of reform appear as soon as possible. [end recording]

[Starodomskaya] Poland's minister of foreign affairs talked to journalists about international problems which were discussed during the talks, matters connected with security, the need to support positive tendencies in East-West relations especially after the signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles. Such a policy of talks should be continued, the minister stressed.

Discusses FRG, Media

LD101822 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—"Relations among nations, among states cannot be built on half-truths. To improve the situation, the whole truth should be told," Marian Orzechowski, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and foreign minister of Poland, said in reply to reporters' questions at a news conference here today.

He is staying in the USSR on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Orzechowski was asked numerous questions about the problem of relations between European nations, in particular between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

He said in this connection: "We duly appreciate the FRG's desire to improve and update relations with socialist countries. We shall put even greater value on actions bearing out such statements.

"It is impossible to build the 'common European home' without the involvement of the FRG, a country which plays a very important role in the North Atlantic bloc and which has played a positive role in the successful attainment of the Washington accords.

"This is why we are prepared to develop in every way these relations which are based on respect for the realities existing in Europe and sealed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

Answering a question about the latest developments in Poland in the social and economic field and their coverage by the Western mass media, Orzechowski said the truth was far from what was being alleged in the West.

"I think that the measures now being taken in Poland have on the whole been received with much understanding in the country. There is no other way to effect reform," he said.

Orzechowski called for broader contacts between Soviet and Polish people at every level. "I am deeply convinced that drawing millions of people into the cause of friendship and cooperation will ensure its success," he said.

'Positive' Visit Results

LD101704 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS-"My talks in Moscow were held in an atmosphere of complete unity of views, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect, trust, and allied partnership—all the features which characterise relations between Poland and the Soviet Union", Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political

Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, said at a press conference here today. He is currently in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

The minister emphasized that in matters of bilateral relations special attention had been given to a Polish-Soviet cooperation model which is taking shape now and which meets the requirements of the political and socio-economic reforms in Poland and the Soviet Union.

"On an international plane", he pointed out, "a broad spectrum of issues was the subject of the talks. First of all, we discussed security issues, the need for support for positive tendencies in East-West relations following the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty. We were unanimous that negative trends aimed at compensating for the elimination of the INF missiles by other kinds of rearmament should be averted by means of talks".

"We also discussed the question of introduction by our two countries of the proposal on building security on the European continent, including the Polish 'Jaruzelski Plan' in it. In so doing we proceeded from the premise that security is indivisible. This is why, apart from disarmament, we discussed various aspects of East-West relations, the situation in Europe, relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, issues concerning regional conflicts, and international cooperation as a whole".

"We take similar views of the future of Europe as an all-European home based on full respect for the post-war territorial and political set-up in Europe and on unconditional and unambiguous renunciation of any attempts at undermining it," the Polish foreign minister emphasized.

"The results of my visit are highly positive. They reflect the logic of Polish-Soviet relations and are a manifestation of a new stage in cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union."

Departs for Leningrad

LD102359 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report that Mariam Orzechowski has left Moscow for Leningrad. At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Shevardnadze and other officials. Loginov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, is accompanying the guest on the trip.

Poland's Jaruzelski Meets CSSR's Jakes

LD082037 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw February 8 (TASS)—Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, who is staying in Poland on a friendly working visit, started talks in Otwock-Wielki, near Warsaw, today.

They are discussing matters pertaining to relations between the two fraternal parties and states and international issues.

'Communique' on Meeting

LD082309 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw February 8 TASS—There was a meeting here between First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Wojciech Jaruzelski and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes who was on a friendly working visit here. A communique circulated here today says that priority attention was given to the process of restructuring, the making of economic reforms and development of socialist economy in both countries.

Both representatives expressed conviction that the measures taken in the USSR and other socialist countries promote the strengthening of socialism, improvement of living and working conditions of the people and consolidation of international peace. They noted with satisfaction that cooperation between parliaments, government institutions, political, public and other organizations of the two countries is widening.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia exchanged views on key problems of international politics. They confirmed that the results of the meeting of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan in Washington and mainly the signing of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles have created important conditions for the consolidation of positive changes in the international situation, above all in East-West relations.

The sides expressed concern over the voices in the West that demand the reinforcement of the potential of conventional armaments and tactical nuclear arms as compensation for nuclear missiles that are to be eliminated. The sides noted that questions of security should be resolved through talks and not through rearmament, which means the continuation of the arms race, including the attempts to transfer it to outer space.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Milos Jakes emphasised that the fundamental condition of peace, security and cooperation in Europe is the unqualified recognition of the ultimate nature of the borders, an end to any attempts to call them in question or alter them, as well as complete respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European countries within their present boundaries.

Poland's Industry Minister Visits 2-5 Feb

LD052253 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 5 Feb 88

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Moscow, Feb 5—Poland's Minister for Industry Jerzy Bilip paid a visit here between February 2 and 5, and met with the eight Soviet ministers representing various branches of industry. His talks focused on implementation of the resolutions that had been earlier adopted by the two countries' leaders and the Polish-Soviet intergovernmental commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

When reviewing the advancement of hitherto cooperation in particular industries, special emphasis in the course of the talks was laid upon new forms of cooperation which include direct cooperation between industrial plants, establishment of joint enterprises, development of Polish industry's potential with credit assistance from the Soviet Union, and enhancement of industrial cooperation and coproduction.

Among specific problems that were discussed and agreed upon during the talks with Soviet partners several deserve special attention and they include: supplies of technologies and equipment for production of polycrystallic silicon and copper foil, reciprocal supplies of technological equipment for electronics industry, and for microelectronics as well, reciprocal supplies of subassemblies for electronics industry, co-operant supplies related to the production of the new Soviet Il-96 aircraft, supplies of modern technological equipment which would up-date Poland's industrial plants under Soviet credits to Poland, joint production of equipment for automation and production-process control, as well as designing and starting long-series production of consumption gauges for electric power, water and gas.

Specific decisions were taken with regard to founding joint economic enterprises and organizations in machine tool and construction machine industries within this year's first three months. The decisions dealt with a joint electromagnetic clutches production plant based upon the mechanical works in Ostrzeszow, a joint enterprise for servicing and repairing machine tools imported from the Soviet Union based upon the Ponar-Remo combine in Warsaw, as well as with a joint hydrokinetic transmission gear production organization based upon th epower hydraulics works in Lodz and the Kalinin works in Moscow.

As far as cooperation in ship-building is concerned, the sides agreed to ensure conditions of ship exports to the Soviet Union after 1990, with particular stress upon measures allowing for limitation of the import of equipment, materials, and co-operant components from capitalist countries.

Minister Jerzy Bilip was received by USSR's Vice-Premier Aleksey Antonov for a talk during which the two discussed the chief problems that had been reviewed prior to the meeting with particular Soviet ministers representing the economic sector, and emphasized their importance to the implementation of the resolutions adopted earlier by leaders of the two countries.

Referring to the talks he had had here on new forms of cooperation between Polish and Soviet enterprises and on foundations of joint plants, Minister Bilip told PAP:

"I think that after that first, so to say, activation period, we are now entering the stage of specific executive decisions. Enterprises must clearly define their objectives, technical and economic parameters and timetables of undertakings they plan to embark upon, while we are obligated, as ministers, to establish all the necessary conditions that would facilitate the implementation of joint plans made by Polish and Soviet enterprises. The administration's task is to support initiatives of enterprises, to establish the necessary conditions and to lift the hurdles that still exist."

CSSR's Husak Receives John Whitehead

LD082325 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 8 Feb 88

[Text] Prague February 8 (TASS)—Despite the existing differences in views, there has been a certain growth in relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States of late. This was emphasised during a conversation between president of Czechoslovakia Gutav Husak and U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead in the Prague Castle today. The sides pointed to the expediency of the continuation of the dialogue and quest of the ways leading to the development of mutual economic relations.

The sides welcomed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as a historic milestone in East-West relations. The hope was simultaneously expressed that the process of disarmament will continue developing.

John Whitehead left Prague for Brussels today.

SED Party Workers Visit Moscow 1-7 Feb

LD072222 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Feb 88

[Text] In accordance with the schedule of interparty ties between the CPSU and the SED, a delegation of SED party workers headed by Semmelman, SED Central Committee member, SED Central Committee Agriculture Departmentf director, visited the Soviet Union from 1 to 7 February.

The German comrades acquainted themselves with the the party leadership's experience of intensifying agricultural production based on the achievements of scientific-technical progress. They had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the USSR Agroprom, and Vaskhnil and visited a number of scientific establishments and enterprises of the agro-industrial complexes of Moscow Oblast and the Belorussian SSR.

The delegation was received by Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary. Skiba, CPSU Central Committee candidate member, a CPSU Central Committee Department chief, took part in the conversation which passed in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

SFRY-Iraq Hold Talks in Belgrade

LD102239 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade February 10 TASS—The uprising of the Palestinian people in Israeli-occupied Arab lands clearly shows that the situation in that region cannot be preserved in the form in which it exists today. This was pointed out at the talks held here between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, and Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Iraq, during the latter's working friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

They pointed out that an international conference on the Middle East would be the most effective way to resolve problems of that region. The conference shoud be held under the U.N. aegis with equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The present developments on the occupied Arab territories confirmed the exceptionality of the political role played by PLO and the legitimacy of that organization as the only genuine representative of the Palestinian people.

The questions discussed at the talks dealt with the activities of non-aligned countries in preparing a political platform of the 9th non-aligned summit conference.

During the meeting its participants pointed out their mutual interest in a further development of cooperation between the two countries.

Upon the end of the talks Tariq 'Aziz was received by Lazar Mojsov, president of the collective presidency of Yugoslavia.

SFRY's Dizdarevic on Balkan Meeting

LD091832 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade February 9 TASS—Favourable conditions have been created for the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting to be held in the Yugoslav capital on February 24-26, Vice-President Raif Dizdarevic said in a statement on Yugoslav television.

"One can expect that the forum will have a positive effect on the overall atmosphere both in the region and also with respect to relations between individual states."

By proposing to host the meeting, he said, Yugoslavia proceeded from the need for extensive cooperation among all Balkan nations in the areas of mutual interest and in which it would be feasible.

He singled out such areas as economics, trade, science and technology, power engineering, transport, ecology, culture and information science.

Albanian Spokesman on Meeting

LD092024 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia February 9 TASS—A spokesman for the Albanian Foreign Ministry today issued a statement concerning preparations for a meeting of Balman countries' foreign ministers, to be held in Belgrade on February 24 to 26.

"The foreign ministers' meeting is acquiring special significance as it will be the first meeting of the kind between representatives of the Balkan states," the statement said.

It pointed out that Albania would participate in it, proceeding from goodwill and desire to make a contribution to efforts to consolidate accord and cooperation among Balkan nations.

"Albania will support any constructive step to improve the situation in the Balkans, strengthen peace and stability and build up security in the region and beyond.

"Albania stands for the independent development and stability of all Balkan countries," the statement said.

"Peoples in the Balkans wish to maintain friendly relations among themselves. Albania holds that they can solve their problems pertaining to their basic interests and the interests of peace and stability in the region, on their own, without pressure and outside interference".

The statement expressed the hope that the meeting would promote cooperation in many fields of interest to all sides.

Yakovlev Holds Talks with BCP's Yordanov

LD051404 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, today received G. Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of culture, science and education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB].

There was an exchange of views on certain issues of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in the spiritual sphere.

Georgi Pankov, ambassador of the PRB in the USSR, took part in the conversation.

PRAVDA Cites Volskiy's Hungary Visit

PM091239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline "Official Reports"]

[Text] A group of CPSU officials headed by A.I. Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department chief, visited Hungary 25-30 January at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee.

In conversations with party officials and heads of ministries and departments, there was a thorough exchange of views on questions of party organizations' work in conditions of the implementation of radical economic reform. Topical problems of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in the machine building sphere were also discussed.

The delegation was received by G. Lazar, Politburo member and MSZMP deputy general secretary, and M. Nemeth, MSZMP Central Committee secretary.

USSR-Hungarian Broadcasting Protocol Signed

LD060004 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2030 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] A working protocol was signed in Moscow today on cooperation in the sphere of radio broadcasting between the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gostelradio] and Hungarian Radio for the years 1988-90. It was signed by Comrade Aksenov, chairman of USSR Gosteleradio, and Istvan Hars, chairman of Hungarian Radio. The continuing development of cooperation, the extension of the exchange of radio material on the life of both countries and also coverage of noteworthy dates in their history is envisaged. The joint activity plan includes the preparation of radio bridges, literary, musical, and youth programs.

West Europe

Resignation of Italy's Goria Due to 'Setbacks'

LD101952 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Rome February 10 TASS—Christian Democrat Giovanni Giuseppe Goria, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, today handed his resignation to President Franceso Cossiga.

The president asked the cabinet to continue performing their functions until a new government is formed. Related consultations between political parties will open tomorrow.

Speaking in the House of Deputies, Goria explained his decision by yet another defeat suffered by his five-party coalition government in the parliamentary vote on budget estimates for different ministries for 1988.

The four previous setbacks were during secret balloting on budgetary matters as well and even some of the deputies from the ruling parties cast votes against.

Observers believe that contradictions between the parties making up the coalition have become dramatically sharper lately. The Goria government, the 47th in Italy's post-war history, was formed six and a half months ago.

FRG's Spaeth Leaves Moscow for Leningrad

LD102115 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Leningrad February 10 TASS—Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of Baden-Wuerttemerg, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, arrived here this afternoon by special plane from Moscow in continuation of the programme of his visit to the USSR.

At the airport the guest of the government of the Russian Federation and representatives of the FRG's business community accompanying him were welcomed by Vladimir Khodyrev, the mayor of Leningrad. He emphasized that the Leningraders were gratified to play host to representatives of the FRG and regarded this as an important step along the road of formation of new relations between the two countries.

Leningrad, a large industrial and scientific centre, plays an important role in the Soviet economy and in expansion of its international business contacts. It is precisely here that the first Soviet-West German joint enterprise Lenwest for the manufacture of footwear has been set up, and talks are being held on the establishment by Heinemann of its centre on the basis of the Leningrad machinetool manufacturing firm.

Lothar Spaeth visited the Soviet electrical engineering firm Electrosila. West German businessmen who accompanied him visited other enterprises of the city which has been granted the right to operate independently on the world market within the framework of the current restructuring process. Electrosila specializes in the manufacture of high-powered turbo- and hydrogenerators which are exported to a hundred countries.

In a conversation with Leningrad engineers Lothar Spaeth spoke out in favour of development of bilateral relations in the economy. He pointed out favourable prospects for such form of cooperation as the establishment of joint-venture enterprises of the two countries.

Andreas Meyer Landrut, the ambassador of the FRG to the Soviet Union, arrived in Leningrad together with Lothar Spaeth.

Joint Business Established

LD111111 Hamburg DPA in German 0928 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Leningrad/Kornwestheim (DPA)—Baden-Wuerttemberg Minister-President Lothar Spaeth (CDU) ended his 5-day visit to the Soviet Union today with economic talks in Leningrad. Spaeth, accompanied by a high-ranking economic delegation, travelled to Leningrad from Moscow on Wednesday. According to a framework economic agreement signed by Spaeth at the start of his visit to Moscow, the USSR's second city is due to be a main area of focus for cooperation between Baden-Wuerttemberg and Soviet firms.

Leningrad is also the site of the first joint undertaking of the Kornwestheim shoe firm Salamander with a Soviet concern. Salamander board chairman Franz-Josef Dazert signed a contract at the Soviet Light Industry Ministry, within the framework of the Spaeth visit, for a second joint undertaking in Vitebsk. The new concern, named "Bell West," will be 60% under Soviet control and 40% under Salamander. Dazert, who returned to the Federal Republic on Tuesday, will give details at a joint press conference with Spaeth this evening at Stuttgart Airport. [passage omitted]

'Radio Glasnost' Disinformation Campaign Viewed

LD102245 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—TASS commentator Igor Osinskiy writes:

A new voice appeared recently among the chorus of subversive Western radio stations beaming at socialist countries: A transmitter began to operate from West Berlin.

It must be stated plainly that the fact in itself would not have merited attention were it not for just one noteworthy detail: the masters christened the new radio transmitter "Glasnost", using the word which is winning increasing popularity in the world in recent years. It is needless to repeat that glasnost (openness), as it is viewed in the Soviet Union and by the progressive and liberal public of various countries, signifies a frank, sincere and at times impartial talk about urgent problems, a dialogue without reticence and without keeping any thing back, and an objective information.

Against this background the West Berlin transmitter is an obvious anachronism, a relapse of psychological warfare. Assuming in a self-styled manner the duties of the guardians of human rights in socialist society, the disinformation experts from Glasnost radio transmitter distort reality and set themselves as an object, in particular, to stir up anti-state sentiments among the population of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and to bring about a split in the socialist community.

This manifested itself unambiguously during the recent events when elements sent from West Berlin staged a provocative gathering outside Zionskirche church in the capital of the GDR. Glasnost radio transmitter interpreted the anti-state undertaking only as demand for the freedom of conscience.

When a group of leftist-leaning young people tried to interfere with a working people's demonstration in memory of national heroes Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Glasnost radio transmitter hurried to present the group's hooligan actions as an act of the expression of the will of the public.

Arguing that black is white, the Glasnost disinformation experts tried to question the legitimate actions of the GDR's bodies that took measures to protect the republic's citizens from provocateurs and violators of the public order.

One does not need to be a lawyer to understand that a person has a right to protection from hooligans. The state has the right to use lawful measures to protect people from those who encroach upon the state's constitutional principles.

As for the radio transmitter's attempt to publicize itself by playing on the popularity of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, it is obviously a heavy-handed one.

Military-Scientific Conference Ends in Munich

PM110943 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "'Wehrkunde' at the Crossroads. What the Meeting in Munich Has Shown"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Feb—The annual conference of the "Wehrkunde" military-scientific society has ended in Munich. Some 180 people attended the conference—leading FRG figures, leaders of the main political parties, Bundestag deputies, scientists, and journalists. Foreign participants included the U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci and six other NATO defense ministers, 19 U.S. senators and congressmen, parliamentarians, and generals from NATO states. In short, the usual range of people, with a preponderance of transatlantic guests.

Some people, especially in Washington, were pinning specific hopes on this meeting, the first since the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They hoped that it would be possible to gain approval for the U.S. view concerning further steps, especially as regards arms. However, on the admission of both participants and experts, the conference was unable, or unwilling, to reach a united view.

The West German side—with Chancellor Kohl as the main speaker—set forth the following viewpoint: Right now it would be wrong to stick to the "cold war" positions and to hope to combine this stance with the peaceable steps of the USSR in the disarmament sphere. The FRG regards it as essential that the balance in the sphere of conventional arms be restored. As for tactical nuclear weapons with a range of up to 500 km, it is necessary to negotiate their reduction to equal, low levels. The chancellor called for the elaboration of realistic joint measures, declaring at the same time that the country's leadership rejects a "third zero"—that is, total elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe—in the prevailing conditions of a Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional weapons.

At the same time, H. Kohl did not endorse the idea of the modernization of nuclear and conventional arms, which essentially means the upgrading of NATO's armments. This is precisely what the U.S. secretary of defense advocated in his report, and this is also what U.S. Senators Byrd and Nunn called for in support of him. Incidentally, M. Woerner, Washington's faithful sword bearer, future NATO secretary general, but at the moment still head of the FRG defense department, was the only Bonn representative to take up a clearly pro-American position.

Carlucci tried to frighten the West Europeans. His threat was directed above all at the FRG, the main U.S. partner in NATO. He said that should it come to the elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe, U.S. troops might as well be withdrawn from the continent. He said that in such a case, the United States could no longer guarantee their allies' defense within the framework of the "strategy of nuclear deterrence." The threat was effective: This was the only point on which the conference achieved agreement. They decided nuclear weapons must remain in Europe; otherwise, the whole NATO military concept might collapse. Judging by the mood which reigns within NATO after the signing of the first treaty on nuclear disarmament, Bonn's GENERAL-ANZEIGER writes, the West is in for some hard times. The point is, the newspaper explains, that currently, in the atmosphere of improved East-West relations, it is difficult to maintain among the peoples the "will for defense" against a nonexistent enemy, or to demand sacrifices from them.

Similar thoughts were expressed at the conference by F.-J. Strauss, the Bavarian prime minister and chairman of the CSU [Christian Social Union]. He, and one is used to hearing different statements from him, said that the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons and extension of their range would meet with opposition in the FRG and that this plan was politically difficult to implement. (The newspaper DIE WELT noted in its commentary that the color drained from Defense Minister Woerner's face during these words from Strauss.)

With good reason, as they say— after all, both F.-J. Strauss and A. Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] parliamentary faction, not to mention H.-J. Vogel, the chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] effectively backed the well-known position of the FRG Federal Government, which was reaffirmed in Munich.

I believe that the "Wehrkunde" conference graphically demonstrated that the peace-loving sentiments, the attempt to protect the European Continent against possible conflicts, and the desire to follow the path of lowering military confrontation proposed by the Soviet Union are increasingly gaining ground in West Europe.

Gromyko, Queen of The Netherlands Exchange Notes
PM111145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has sent a telegram to Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands congratulating her on her birthday. The telegram expresses high appreciation of the Dutch head of state's favorable attitude toward the expansion of cooperation between our countries in a spirit of friendship and good neighborliness.

In her telegram of reply, the Queen of The Netherlands expressed her sincere gratitude.

French CP Leader Welcomes Gorbachev Statement
LD102228 Moscow TASS in English 2114 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Paris February 10 TASS—The French Communists welcome the statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan in which he set out the plan and timeframe for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. General Secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais said this, answering a question from a TASS correspondent at today's news conference.

There exists now every condition for a political settlement under international control which would ensure non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Such a settlement is realistic unless external forces put additional obstacles at the eleventh hour, said the leader of the French Communists. Georges Marchais also emphasized the importance of the policy of national reconciliation conducted by the present Afghan Government.

Latin America & Caribbean

Reagan To Continue Seeking Contra Aid
LD102130 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Washington February 10 TASS—The Reagan Administration intends to continue its attempts to get from the Congress the granting of new appropriations for mercenary bands of Somoza men. Spokesman for the

White House Marlin Fitzwater said at a briefing that the administration now conducts a preliminary discussion of this matter with the Democratic leadership of the Congress to work out a "mutually-acceptable" solution.

The efforts taken by the White House to continue the financing of contras along official channels are accompanied by a noisy propaganda campaign of "fund raising" for the war against Nicaragua. During the briefing Fitzwater asserted that the U.S. Administration has nothing to do with that campaign. But the ASSOCIATED PRESS reports that leaders of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives of the Congress have a different opinion. The news agency notes that the Democratic congressmen accused the Reagan administration of taking again the road of private financing of its international politics which had earlier led to the Iran-contra affair.

Speaker of the House of Representatives James Wright criticized the decision of the contras announced on the eve, to defer talks with the representatives of the Nicaraguan Government on ceasefire. The ASSOCIATED PRESS notes that in James Wright's opinion, this step creates the impression that in its official policy, the administration leans to a military solution, not to a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Managua February 10 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government proposed to hold in the days ahead an urgent meeting with representatives of the contras to work out the agenda for the subsequent talks on ceasefire. This was said at a press conference in Managua by West German politician Hans-Juergen Wischnewski who takes part in the talks as an expert of the Nicaraguan delegation. He also said that Nicaragua agreed to appoint the next round of the talks for February 18 in accordance with the wish with the mediator—Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo. The Nicaraguan Government's stand attests to its serious interest in achieving armistice, Hans-Juergen Wischnewski said.

Bogota February 10 TASS—President of Brazil Jose Sarney and Colombian President Virgilio Barco addressed all states having interests in Central America not to take any actions that can hamper the establishment of peace in the region. In a joint communique signed during the visit of Jose Sarney to Colombia, the leaders of the two countries expressed complete support for the efforts taken by Latin American states with a view to peaceful settlement in Central America.

Virgilio Barco noted the positive character of the recent decision of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress to turn down the request of the Reagan Administration for new appropriations for the contras. The attempts to destabilise some Central American country would hamper the process of settlement in the region, the Colombian president said.

Nicaraguan Contras Cut Electricity Supplies

LD101058 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 10 TASS—Subversive sallies staged by mercenaries on Sunday cut electric supplies for almost 24 hours in Nicaragus's northern departments of Nueva Segovia, Madriz and Ocotal. Contra gangs blew up electric transmission line supports. Ten kilometres of Esteli and industrial and agricultural enterprises were left without electricity.

Contras recently blew up about 20 electric transmission line supports which largely heightened the acute energy crisis Nicaragua is experiencing.

Political & Social

Gromyko Tours Vilnius Factories 4 February

PM111131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Acquaintance With Vilnius"]

[Text] Vilnius, 4 Feb—Today A.A. Gromyko laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin memorial and also at the memorial to V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas—one of the founders of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

On the same day he visited the Vilnius Hothouse Combine. This agro-industrial enterprise, the largest in the republic, obtains on average 31 kg of cucumbers per square meter during the season. The harvest of tomatoes and other vegetables grown in the open [v otkrytom grunte] is high.

During conversations with workers and specialists the discussion turned to labor organization, the introduction of economic accountability [khozraschet] and the contract, and ties between the collective and related enterprises in the republic and the country. The combine has already significantly exceeded its design capacity. The economic accountability introduced 2 years ago has helped it to achieve high profitability and obtain approximately R2 million profit in a year.

A.A. Gromyko showed an interest in how people are being provided with housing and how their other social requirements are being satisfied. It was pointed out that the deputies of Vilnyusskiy Rayon's Baydot Apilinka Soviet [rural soviet in Lithuania comprising deputies from several villages] and the rayon soviet deputies working here have made an appreciable contribution to improving labor and living conditions. One can easily see from your combine's example, A.A. Gromyko said in conclusion, that love for one's work produces results if it is augmented by hard work and science.

A vast panorama of the republic's economic and social life is unfurled at the Lithuanian SSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, which A.A. Gromyko visited. Exhibits, diagrams, photographs, and mockups describe the priority development of power engineering, machine building, instrument making, and other industrial sectors. Consumer goods are broadly represented. It was pointed out that the quality of the goods must be boosted further. Particularly aimed at this are the economic reform and the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) which has come into force and which many of the republic's labor collectives are now working under.

A.A. Gromyko also familiarized himself with the "Implementation of the Leninist Cooperative Plan in the Lithuanian SSR" Exhibition. This describes how the rural material base has gradually been reinforced with the help of the fraternal republics. Last year the yield of grain crops in the republic amounted to 31.7 quintals per hectare and an average of 3,635 kg of milk were obtained from each cow. Good results, A.A. Gromyko said, but it would be nice to achieve even higher indicators and introduce the family contract more extensively.

Rayon and local soviet deputies have done a great deal for the social development of rural areas and to provide amenities for kolkhoz and sovkhoz settlements. However, they are in a position to exert a more active influence on the production processes.

During a visit to the "Vilnius" Furniture Combine it was stressed that its collective is doing a great deal to improve output quality and boost its competitiveness. The social sphere is developing successfully here.

Have we been correct in setting course for restructuring? What are workers saying?—A.A. Gromyko asked at the combine. We want to see results sooner, the answer came back. But we support it everywhere unanimously.

A.A. Gromyko drew attention to the high level of mechanization and automation and the unique system for transporting output between workshops. Equipment is sited skillfully here. In this connection the workers reported that the combine was the first enterprise in the republic for which the Vilnius branch of the All-Union Technical Design Research Institute prepared and introduced a comprehensive blueprint for the layout of the enterprise. On the basis of this blueprint aesthetic restructuring of the site, workshops, and living premises was carried out and an in-house information display system set up. This year almost the entire product range of the combine will be updated.

It was pointed out that the population's requirements for furniture are by no means being met in full. The modern furniture industry has not adapted to the fulfillment of individual orders, and there are waiting lists of several years for the combine's most popular furniture. The population's requirements must be studied more actively and changing demand considered more promptly, A.A. Gromyko stressed.

The following also took part in the tour of Vilnius: R.I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, V.S. Astrauskas, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Raykom Plenum

PM101301 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Party Committee: Contribution to Restructuring": "Establish the New and Rely on Experience"; first three paragraphs are LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Yesterday in 13 rayons of Leningrad City and Oblast plenums of CPSU raykoms and gorkoms took place devoted to reports by party raykom and gorkom

bureaus on work in leading restructuring and the tasks of rayon and city party organizations in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of Leningrad City's Vyborgskiy CPSU Raykom."

In a spirit of high exactingness and frankness the plenums' participants examined the problems of the switch to political methods of leading socioeconomic processes, the further democratization of life, and the implementation of radical economic reform.

The plenums paid great attention to tasks connected with improving the style and methods of party work, increasing the vanguard role of the Communists in labor and social life, providing ideological backup for the second stage of restructuring, and preparing for the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference.

The CPSU raykom plenum which examined the bureau's report on work in leading restructuring was an important event for the Communists and working people of Moskovskiy Rayon. The discussion helped in determining to what degree the content, forms and methods of the raykom's activity accord with the tasks of acceleration set today, how they are influencing changes in all spheres of life in the period of active preparation for the 19th all-union party conference. [passage omitted]

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the party obkom, addressed the plenum. [passage omitted]

Solovyev Attends Conductor Mravinskiy's Funeral

PM101111 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 4

[LENTASS report: "Farewell to Yevgeniy Mravinskiy"]

[Excerpts] Fate gave him enviable creative longevity. Even in recent years, forced to conduct sitting down, he made no concessions either to himself or the orchestra, turning every symphonic evening into an unforgettable festive occasion. So Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Mravinskiy was and will remain in our memory. He hoped until the last that he would pass many more times through the narrow aisle of the orchestra to the rostrum with which he has been associated all his life. He departed as a true knight of music, serving it to his last breath. Thousands of Leningrad people said farewell yesterday to their renowned fellow countryman, one of the greatest artists of modern times. [passage omitted]

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, party and soviet workers, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and friends and students of the musician mounted a guard of honor as part of the funeral vigil in the D.D. Shostakovich Grand Philharmonic Hall.

Biryukova Visit to Turkmenistan Described

Arrives in Chardzhou

PM081539 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM report under the general heading "Restructuring Needs the Energy of Each Worker"]

[Text] Chardzhou, 21 Jan—A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Chardzhou this afternoon.

The same day A.P. Biryukova visited the Chardzhou Woolen Spinning and Weaving Factory named for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked about the introduction of new forms of labor organization at the enterprise, profitability, product ranges and quality, and the workers' working and living conditions.

A.P. Biryukova was accompanied on her tour by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, and A.S. Boyko and Yu.K. Mogilevets, members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

Visits Carpet Factory

PM081411 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM special correspondents Ye. Prikhodko and L. Shvedova report: "Deepening Restructuring for the Sake of Man. A.P. Biryukova's Stay in Ashkhabad"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Turkmenistan, visited the main enterprise of the "Turkmenkover" Association in Ashkhabad. This is one of the association's eight factories whose output is renowned far beyond the country's borders. The carpet makers there are skilled workers who pass on their skills from generation to generation. Many of them work at home, combining socially useful work with raising children and housework.

"How pretty, clever, and skillful you all are!" A.P. Biryukova greeted the women in a factory shop. Among the carpet makers with whom the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee chatted was Hero-Mother Edzhegul Chovdurova, who has raised 10 children. She has been making carpets for 32 years. She has many pupils who work in the same shop. They include two of her daughters and a daughter-in-law.

"We are also in a family contract with Mom," recent high-school graduate Tadzhigul Annataganova, whom A.P. Biryukova asked about her work, everyday life, and leisure, said with a smile.

Near the machine tool where Uza Durdyyeva, secretary of the primary Komsomol organization, works, a conversation was struck up about the girls' social activeness and the struggle against the vestiges of the past. The Komsomol organizer talked about the "Ayna" factory radio station, the international friendship evenings, the "Yevar" folk group, and Komsomol weddings.

"Without your participation in restructuring, dear women and girls, no breakthrough will be achieved," A.P. Biryukova told the workers.

In the association's exhibition hall Director A. Babayev displayed the various kinds of carpets, talked about the history of unique materials, and answered the CPSU Central Committee secretary's questions about the fastness of the dyes and ways of protecting carpets from damage. There was a conversation about traditions and innovation in carpetmaking.

"Here I see quite uniform designs and colors. Of course, we must not lose the classical tradition, but we must also follow modern currents of world fashion and heed consumer demand," A.P. Biryukova said. "Otherwise it will be hard to be competitive in the marketplace or compete with carpets produced by machine. We must not be working today just to fill a warehouse; the comprehensive program to meet the demand for carpets and tapestries in the country has not yet been fulfilled. There are people from whom you can borrow experience in expanding your ranges—such examples have been set by the Kayrakkum and Lyubertsy combines, which produce carpets in 250-300 different designs."

The leaders of ministries and departments have proffered explanations about the problems with the "Turkmenkover" Association: Since its foundation it has received state subsidies, which have recently reached R9 million. Because of their high cost—R330 per square meter—demand for Turkmen carpets on the domestic market remains low. Despite the cut in retail prices over the last year, a cut which cost the association R2.5 million, many thousands of items have piled up at warehouses.

Only one-third of the carpets produced have been exported. One of the reasons for the expense, in the opinion of the leaders of the association and the Ministry of Local Industry, is the fact that wool prices have increased by 50 percent.

"You have to make carpets not for a select public but for the population, and this means that they must be affordable," A.P. Biryukova said. "It is impermissible for the state to buy wool abroad with foreign currency and then incur losses. Synthetics, flax, and other materials must be introduced, artists must be involved, and more souvenirs must be produced. Otherwise the association will not be able to switch to economic accountability and self-financing next year as planned. More goods must be made for sale to the population and the manufacture of profitable products organized. In the meantime, I must tell you quite frankly, there is no feeling of restructuring—above all, a restructuring of thinking—in the association."

All Soviet people must feel the changes for the better in the social sphere and in the satisfaction of the demand for goods and services. This was discussed during A.P. Biryukova's visit to the "Ovadan" Consumer Services Center in the capital. Some 72 different services are provided there. Last year almost R630,000 was spent on these services.

At the national costume sewing shop a talk was held with workers beside a stand of woven materials, predominant among which were synthetics unsuitable for the southern climate; the need was stated to react sensitively to consumer demand, to restructure light industry flexibly, and, if necessary, to buy equipment and produce fabrics which have so far been in short supply.

T. Kovaleva, director of the Consumer Services Center, talked about the prospects for developing the services provided.

A.P. Biryukova then visited the "Gulistan" Trading Center. There she inquired about the organization of trade, the meeting of consumer demand, and market prices.

"How much are your carrots?" the CPSU Central Committee secretary asked a young man in a starched white coat.

"10 kopeks a kilo," he replied without batting an eyelid, although everyone in Ashkhabad knows the other price—R1.5-2 a kilo.

In front of a stall selling the goods of the Clothes Center, salesgirl N. Korneyeva, answering a question from the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that there was great demand for knitwear, but the store often could not meet it since there were few attractive, good-quality, and fashionable products. They are always waiting for Belorussian and Baltic knitwear. But products from local sewn goods factories often spend a long time on the shelves.

Walking along the trading stalls selling agricultural products, A.P. Biryukova chatted to shoppers and asked about people's lives and how they felt.

"All Ashkhabad people are grateful to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for restructuring and for his concern for people and those who work conscientiously," was how pensioner Mariya Fedotovna Lobanova expressed the opinion of those present.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was shown how consumer cooperative trade is organized. Instead of livestock products, the store shelves are lined with consumer goods: gardening tools, utensils, knitted stockings, and mittens, of which R700,000 worth have already been sold.

The windows of a direct-sale store of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Complex contained a beautiful display of potatoes, cucumbers, onions, lemons, and other fruit and vegetables.

"Do you always have such an abundance?" A.P. Biryukova asked women standing in line.

"They're displaying all the best stuff today for your visit."

"Usually there's a lot of damaged fruit and vegetables. You take them home and throw out at least half."

"Our trading standards are poor, there are many cases of short measures, and shortchanging," voices shouted.

"Order must be imposed here and stricter demands made on salesmen to make them feel that they are working for people," A.P. Biryukova said. "The state must set for the market an example of how to trade. I have also noticed that you have very many healthy strong men serving behind the counter. That is not right. There is plenty of real men's work to be done."

A.P. Biryukova visited the Tajik SSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, an economic goods store and supermarket in the 10th district, and the No 50 secondary school.

The previous day—18 January—A.P. Biryukova visited the Order of Lenin "Sovet Turkmenistany" Kolkhoz, where she met with members of the board, and party and soviet workers from Gyaurskiy Rayon. Hero of Socialist Labor M. Sopyyev, chairman of the kolkhoz, talked about the work of this highly profitable multisectorial farm and the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked about the kolkhoz' socioeconomic development, the rural workers' lives, and their working, living, and leisure conditions.

Great attention was devoted to the problem of vegetable processing and storage. It was noted that under the new economic management conditions it is necessary to build storage facilities not only for interrayon associations but for individual farms.

Cadres continue to be the main concern, it was stressed during the conversation. A great deal is being done on the kolkhoz to retain young people in the countryside, but there are still not enough highly qualified cadres. It is necessary to continue the practice of sending kolkhoz-sponsored students to study at agricultural VUZ's and technical colleges.

A.P. Biryukova visited the kolkhoz' Palace of Culture and saw the gallery of portraits of the farm's veterans and front-rankers. She signed the visitors' book: "Dear comrade kolkhoz members! I was enormously interested to familiarize myself with the work and work results of your collective. They are the results of your work and are inspirational and impressive. If only there were more kolkhozes and sovkhozes like this in the republic and the country the Food Program would be resolved in no time. Thank you for your work and your achievements. Permit me to express the confidence that you will generously share your experience with others. I wish you successes in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the restructuring program. I wish you and your families happiness."

The meeting between the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and border guards at Post X was warm and cordial. She familiarized herself with the way in which the defenders of the motherland's southern borders serve and how they study, live, and relax.

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was accompanied by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, and members and candidate members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

On 19 January A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Monument and the memorial to the Turkmen heroes who perished during the Great Patriotic War.

Visits Achievement Exhibit

PM101125 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM special correspondents L. Tissen and A. Rybakreport: "Applying Reserves More Boldly. Visit to Ashkhabad by A.P. Biryukova, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 19 January A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, visited the Turkmen SSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements.

In one of the pavilions, where items produced by enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Turkmen SSR Ministries of Light and Local Industry were on display, there was a conversation about ways of developing consumer goods production.

"Are similar beautiful and good-quality articles from local factories on sale?" A.P. Biryukova inquired. "After all, it is no secret that the goods in the stores are often quite different in quality and range."

Beside a stand of articles from the Chardzhou Woolen Spinning and Weaving Factory named for the 50th Anniversary of the USSR the talk turned to output quality. This enterprise has not had a single complaint over the last year. Told that work at the enterprise is organized into two shifts, A.P. Biryukova suggested switching to a three- or four-shift system, as has been done at a similar combine in Fergana, where a 24-hour kindergarten and meals during the evening and night shifts have been organized and a number of other social questions resolved.

The Bezmein Carpet Combine is one of the youngest enterprises under the jurisdiction of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry. The combine's products were on display at the exhibition. It failed to cope with last year's plan. One of the reasons was a shortage of specialists and workers. Appealing to the leaders of the sector, A.P. Biryukova noted that cadres must be trained in the republic, where a large percentage of the adult population is not employed.

There was a lively conversation beside a stand displaying fabrics from the Chardzhou Silk Combine. They are in great demand both in the republic and beyond, but for a number of years now the enterprise has been subsidized by the state and has been losing money. It was stressed during the talk that the idea of transferring the initial processing of mulberry silkworm cocoons to a department of the republic's Gosagroprom deserves attention.

The problems of the intensification of cotton growing, stockraising, and karakul sheep breeding were touched upon at the sections reflecting the development of agricultural sectors.

A new collection of clothes from the Ashkhabad Fashion House was displayed.

A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, signed the Visitors' Book: "I was greatly interested to familiarize myself with the achievements of the republic's economy.... The exhibition clearly demonstrates the enormous potential and reserves of the Turkmen SSR in resolving the main avenues of the party's social policy ratified by the 27th CPSU Congress and developed in subsequent plenum resolutions. These reserves must be actively exploited for the implementation of the Food Program and the Comprehensive Program for Consumer Goods and Services."

From nails to air conditioners—that is the range available in the No 76 Ashpromtorg Household Goods Store located in the city's No 10 suburb. Every day thousands of Ashkhabad citizens and guests of the republic's capital make purchases in the largest trading enterprise.

A Komsomol youth collective works at the store and successfully coped with last year's plan. It is helped by the team contract. This year, however, the young people intend to introduce an even more progressive method of labor organization—the single job schedule. Preparations for switching the collective to economic accountability [khozraschet] are nearing completion.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary examined the goods on display in the trading hall and asked shoppers their opinions about the quality and range of the goods.

"Are there always meat and butter in the food stores?" A.P. Biryukova asked.

"We've no complaints about supplies of meat and dairy products," shopper S. Bechkova answered. "More concern has started being shown for people."

"I am pleased to note that I have not yet heard any complaints in Ashkhabad about poor supplies of foodstuffs," A.P. Biryukova said.

At a supermarket run by the Sovetskiy Rayon Food Trade Organization she visited the trading sections, familiarized herself with the range of products, and chatted to the salespeople.

At No 50 Secondary School, which only opened this year, A.P. Biryukova talked about the organization of the educational process and familiarized herself with the school movie theater, sports hall, and classrooms. There was an interesting conversation about the preparations under way in the country for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which will examine the progress in carrying out the reform of higher and secondary schools.

Attention was focused on the need to improve the effectiveness of Russian-language tuition in national schools, particularly in rural areas. This problem, which concerns state interests, must be resolved on a priority basis.

"The republic's cities are going for mixed Russian-Turkmen schools," school director V.M. Morozov said. "This helps the kids to learn Russian better."

"There must be no distortions in this work," the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted. "The national language must be taught alongside Russian. This will help to bring nations closer together and promote international patriotic education. Remember how many Turkmens served in the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War and how many of them were heroes and talented commanders who learned Russian as well as their native language. But now young lads from the indigenous population enter the Army and often cannot converse with their comrades."

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the school refectory and inquired about the organization of catering for the children.

On the evening of 19 January A.P. Biryukova saw the show "Khurlukga and Khemra" at the Mollanepes Turkmen State Academic Drama Theater.

On 10 January A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, continued her visits to Ashkhabad's industrial enterprises. She visited the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Cotton Combine.

The enterprise collective is into its 2d year of working under the conditions of self-financing and self-capitalization. This has forced it to deal with financial questions in greater depth, to count and save every kopek, and to introduce progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration. The results of this work are evident. Last year the combine fulfilled the plan in terms of all technical and economic indicators, produced output over and above the plan, repaid debts of R3 million to the state, and made a profit.

The visit to the combine started with a call at the weaving production line. In her conversations with workers the CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about working conditions. These have noticeably improved following the radical modernization of the enterprise, which was carried out without basic production having to be halted. Output quality has improved considerably. Nonetheless, in recent years there have been acute problems in selling output.

"Ways must be found to expand product ranges," A.P. Biryukova noted, "and to switch to the production of finer yarns in fabrics sought after by the customer. In your circumstances it is quite possible to produce knitwear. After all, 60 percent of the republic's knitwear is imported."

A.P. Biryukova inquired in detail about the living conditions created for the workers and visited a rest area and one of the canteens.

There is an acute housing problem at the enterprise. This problem leads to cadre turnover here being quite high.

"The improvement of housing conditions depends on your work," the CPSU Central Committee secretary said. "If you do not manage to introduce real economic accountability there will be no funds to build housing with."

A talk was then held with the combine's specialists and leaders. The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that although there have been achievements at the enterprise production standards are still low, negligent attitudes are adopted toward raw materials, equipment stoppages are permitted, and by no means all reserves for yielding and boosting profits are exploited. Nor are people psycholigcally equal to the demands of the time; there is no spirit of enterprise or ability to really visualize the future.

"The construction of the finishing factory planned by the enterprise is an important and necessary task," A.P. Biryukova stressed. "But construction will take more than 1 year. The combine needs profits today. This means that other ways will have to be found and the experience of related enterprises working under the same conditions but doing so more profitably and efficiently will have to be applied more boldly."

On 20 January A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, also visited the No 1 Sewn Goods Factory in Ashkhabad and the Kaakhka Cotton Gin, where she familiarized herself with the enterprises' activity and the workers' working and living conditions.

A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, was accompanied by S.A. Niyazov, Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and other party and government leaders in the republic.

Visits Clothing Factory

PM090951 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 1

[Report by TURKMENINFORM special correspondents T. Bucharskaya, Ye. Prikhodko, and A. Rybak: "Restructuring Needs the Energy of Each Worker. A.P. Biryukova's Stay in Turkmenistan"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, continued her tour of Turkmenistan's industrial enterprises 20 January. She visited Ashkhabad Sewn Goods Factory No 1.

...It is still rare to find the leader of a light industry enterprise wearing his product. But factory director Nadezhda Petrovna Sorokina buys only suits made in her enterprise's shops. This means that good work is done at the factory, which specializes in clothes for men, women, and children.

Visiting the enterprise, A.P. Biryukova familiarized herself with the production and talked with leaders, engineering and technical personnel, and the workers.

A conversation started in one of the enterprise's shops about the irregular supply of fabrics. Supply factories at which state acceptance has been introduced are chronically failing to cope with their commitments. For this reason production lines stand idle, and products sometimes have to be made out of discarded fabrics that are not in demand.

Major modernization will begin at the factory this year in accordance with a contract concluded with a Western firm. High-productivity lines and efficient equipment

will be installed. The task is to carry through retooling and ensure a stable buildup of consumer goods output under existing production conditions and without reducing production rates.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted the need to expand the network of subsidiaries and increase the number of workers manufacturing products at home. This will largely help to carry out modernization and achieve an increase in production. We must no longer tolerate the fact that the republic currently imports 50 percent of its sewn goods from other parts of the country. This situation must be changed.

"The enterprise has good prospects; you know how to work," A.P. Biryukova noted. "That is why you must think how and in what way you can build up volume and make a profit without forgetting about consumer demand. For instance, even if you now treble output, the trading system will snap up everything you produce. That is why reserves must be sought out."

The need to reduce the time taken to develop new products was also noted. It is impermissible that at the Ashkhabad Fashion House the gestation period for a new product from the designer's idea to series production is almost 2 years. There is no point hiding behind existing instructions, which have long become obsolete.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited the factory's experimental shop, where she familiarized herself with specialist developments and visited the factory canteen, leisure area, and medical center.

It was noted that the production and living standards of the enterprise's workers are high. As a result of constant concern for people, cadre turnover here has fallen by almost two-thirds over the last few years. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee wished the collective well in continuing to maintain the prestige of their factory's brand name.

In the afternoon A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Kaakhka Cotton Gin, which is one of the front-ranking enterprises in its sector. The plant collective has successfully coped with the annual targets for production and output sales, and has met its contractual commitments.

The tour of the enterprise began with a visit to the rolling shop. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made a number of observations about the quality of the cotton yarn produced. Visiting the shop, which produces ready-packed output, A.P. Biryukova noted that the Ash-25 cotton fiber is in terms of many indicators inferior to the new 9871I cotton variety and often fails to meet the demands made on it by consumers.

"We must sow and develop cotton in the varieties and fiber lengths that the textile industry needs," A.P. Biryukova stressed.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also discussed this with leaders and specialists from the Tajik SSR State Agro-Industrial Complex, the cotton gin plant, and party workers in the rayon. The problems of developing cotton growing and the processing sector in the republic, of bringing the quality of cotton fiber up to the standard required by modern textile production, and of reducing output prime cost were discussed. It was noted that there are promising varieties of high-yield cotton plants in the republic. One of these is 9371I. As of this year Kaakhkinskiy Rayon will completely switch to production of this variety. In all 90,000 hectares of this variety will be grown in the republic. It was stressed that main attention must be devoted to medium-fiber varieties of cotton, the construction of seed and fiber stores at plants, and the introduction of state acceptance at cotton ginning enterprises. The general direction under the conditions of the new economic mechanism must be the transition to free trade.

"If good cotton is available, factories will start buying it," A.P. Biryukova noted. "That is why there must be very strict quality controls at plants. The sector is lagging behind the demands of the time, and it is the task of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee to seek ways and means to restructure it."

A.P. Biryukova asked about the working and living conditions created for the enterprise's workers.

On the morning of 21 January A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Bezmein Carpet Combine. This enterprise produces 65,000 square meters of carpets per year.

Many problems linked with the combine's construction and operation were raised during A.P. Biryukova's familiarization with the production facility and her talks with leaders and working people at the enterprise. It was stressed that, through the fault of the republic's Ministry of Construction, the combine's construction took three times longer than laid down in the normatives. Even now that two phases—spinning and weaving production—have been commissioned, the enterprise is not finally ready for stable work. A lot remains incomplete, and there are many unresolved questions.

In one of the shops the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked worker T. Skripnik how things were going and what the housing and living conditions were like.

"I came from Krasnodar, and the combine gave my son and me an apartment straightaway. I try to work conscientiously. But I must say that not everything with regard to housing is favorable at the enterprise," the worker stated.

Director A.A. Kelekhsayev explained that only 35 percent of workers are provided with housing and that there are no kindergartens or dispensaries. The cadre problem

is acute. A great deal of expensive imported equipment stands idle because of manpower shortages, and the percentage utilization of capacity is low. There are 100 people currently studying at RSFSR vocational and technical colleges, but that is not enough, all the more so since, as of 1 April, the enterprise plans to switch to two-shift working.

"Thought should have been given to cadres in good time. After all, the combine was a planned project. Now urgent measures will have to be taken in order to provide a full complement of staff for the production facility," A.P. Biryukova said. "Get in contact with your colleagues from Azerbaijan and Tajikistan—let them teach your workers. You should also have your own vocational and technical college. Production will increase through working extra shifts and boosting capacity. Another reserve is to bring men in to work at the combine. Weaving work needs their strength. Break with psychological stereotypes more boldly."

In one of the shops the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee drew attention to the dirtiness of the machines, the cotton waste, and other production waste. Mismanagement is also revealed in the following example: Certain machine tools bought from foreign firms for foreign currency are rusting away under a leaking roof. A.P. Biryukova called these facts scandalous and demanded that immediate measures be taken. "It is also impermissible," she noted, "that there are no carding machines and that all operations are carried out by hand; there are no cleaning machines."

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need to create good conditions for workers' labor and leisure and noted the impermissibility of having a disdainful attitude toward their needs.

Noting the good work of the combine's collective as a whole, A.P. Biryukova expressed confidence that all shortcomings would be eradicated and that the enterprise would stabilize its work.

A.P. Biryukova then visited an Ashkhabad supermarket. There the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee inquired first and foremost about locally produced goods. The "40 Years of the Turkmen SSR" Footwear Association in Ashkhabad was criticized for its crude output—unattractive men's and teenagers' sandals and shapeless shoes. These products, made by shoddy workmen, are one of the reasons why last year the trading enterprise failed to fulfill its turnover plan to the tune of R2.5 million. In the men's knitwear department, where somber-colored clothes predominate, A.P. Biryukova expressed a desire for a greater variety of colors to be available. The attention of the leadership of the Ministries of Trade and Light Industry was drawn to the need to study consumer demand better. Not all trading regulations are observed. Thus, in the footwear section sizes are not indicated, and price lists are not displayed.

A conversation began with shoppers.

"I have noticed that Ashkhabad women dress beautifully and tastefully. You have a much wider selection of goods than in other cities," A.P. Biryukova said.

"But there are also goods that are in short supply," voices shouted.

"In order to live better, we must all work hard. We must retool enterprises and instill order everywhere," the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said. "The republic is on the right road, but there are still very many things to be done. I wish you successes, and I hope you participate actively in restructuring."

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was accompanied by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, and other leaders of the party and the republic's government.

A.P. Biryukova left for Chardzhou 21 January.

Meets With Central Committee

PM081541 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM report: "Meeting at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting was held between A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members and candidate members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau 21 January at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, briefed the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the measures being taken by the republic party organization and the Central Committee apparatus to lead restructuring, to improve the style and methods of intraparty work and cadre selection and placement, and to enhance the efficiency of the management of the national economic complex.

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted the need to further improve political methods of leading the national economy and educating people. The attention of the republic's leaders was drawn to the problems of improving production standards, output of high-quality consumer goods, and the returns on expensive imported equipment. It was stressed that it is necessary to make restructuring dynamic and consistent and to rely on methods that match the scale and novelty of the tasks ahead.

Kazakh Plenum Discusses Consumer Goods

PM101521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Demand Dictates Quality"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 9 Feb—Positive changes in the republic's economy have had a favorable impact on the solution of social questions and above all on the provision of the population with high-quality goods and diverse services. For instance, the plan for the production of consumer goods was fulfilled 103.9 percent in 1987, the quality of these goods is improving, their range is expanding, the volume of paid services has increased, and turnover has risen.

These facts were cited at a Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held today to discuss the republic party organization's tasks in further increasing the consumer goods production, developing paid services, and insuring a balance between the population's income and expenditure. The report was delivered by N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

We are moving in the right direction, it was noted at the plenum, but not everywhere is this work is not consistent enough everywhere. Many leaders continue to operate along the old lines, relying on importing goods from other regions. As a result, own production accounts for only 60 percent of the republic's goods resources. This creates serious disproportions between the population's effective demand and the possibilities of meeting it. In order to resolve this problem it is necessary to improve the structure of industrial production which has for many years been geared primarily to the development of the extractive sectors.

In the interests of the accelerated development of the social sphere it is necessary to identify and bring into play reserves available in the thorough processing of raw materials and production waste at local level. Great potential for the improvement of the money circulation situation lies in the further development of the paid services sphere, the expansion of the range of goods, and in market research.

The plenum was addressed by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

Tashkent Paper Attacks Tatar 'Extremists'

PM051001 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 2

[N. Petrov article: "Lies To Order. The 'Detskiy Mir' Operation and Other Actions by Extremists"]

[Text] On the eve of the New Year everyone is in an animated mood: It's the festive expectation of something new and bright.

But this was the last thing that people going to the "Detskiy Mir" store 27 December to do their New Year shopping were expecting. Strangers appeared in their path brandishing a paper to be signed.

Who were they?

A group of people calling themselves "defenders of the Crimean Tatars." They were soliciting support for some petition. It emerged that it was a petition protesting the fact that they had been prevented from holding a "youth demonstration" the day before. Ediye Dzhemileva—the sister-in-law of Mustafa Dzhemilev, the notorious provocateur—was particularly importunate.

Of course, they did not explain to anyone that it was intended to hold the rally in circumvention of existing legislation.

Some people shied away from the petitioners in amazement. Others demanded that they cease their petitioning and not spoil the festive spirit. But others....

The others—M. Dzhemilev and F. Ablyamitov were soon to present this absurd spectacle at the "Detskiy Mir" store as a large "demonstration in defense of people's rights." To whom did they present it? Why, to Western "radio voices," of course!

This is only one of the many fabrications conceived and implemented by extremists late last year and early this year in a number of the republic's cities and settlements. M. Dzhemilev and F. Ablyamitov chose crowded places for these provocations, often places very dear to everyone's hearts, irrespective of nationality—monuments to outstanding party figures and statesmen, monuments and memorials to those who died for our homeland's freedom and independence and for the triumph of our international fraternity. White-haired honored people come to these places on days off and holidays with their children to honor their memory. They keep silent here, afraid of disturbing by loud words or careless movements the tranquillity of places which everyone with an ounce of decency holds sacred. Yet here provocative slogans from extremist elements among the Crimean Tatars rang out: "Down with repression! Down with the militia!"

All this is simply blasphemy and desecration of the memory of outstanding party figures and statesmen and the defenders of our fatherland.

But, as they often manage to do, the instigators and provocateurs, having muddied the waters, pushed others into the turbid pond and themselves withdrew. They spurred waverers on to new deeds. The greedy radio voices across the ocean and closer at hand must have run out of food. For example, on 10 January they were "fed" such aphorisms as: "Freedom for Kadyrov and Ablayev!" and "Terror against Sabriye is terror against the people!"

Probably not everyone realizes what these heartrending cries are about—even muddled representatives of the Crimean Tatars. We will explain "Who's who?" in full accordance with objectivity and Soviet laws.

Reshat Ablayev, a native of Andizhan Oblast, and Minovar Kadyrov, born in Tashkent, were convicted 21 March 1986 in the Tashkent City Court under Article 191 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code for circulating and disseminating abroad (including to the so-called "Crimean Tatar National Center" in the United States, headed by Fikret Yurter, a person whose spirit and aims are close to those of M. Dzhemilev), fabrications, known to be false, denigrating the Soviet state and social system. They were sentenced to 3 years imprisonment each.

As if to justify this an alliance between the extremists and the anti-Soviet "national center," its ringleader Fikret Yurter forever dilates on the theme that his "center" is not an alien organization for Crimean Tatars living in the USSR. Only he fails to mention to Soviet representatives of this nationality that Memet Muyedinov has found shelter in his mire, Memet Muyedinov, alias Memet Sevdiyar—the fascist cur who in far-off 1941 was so convinced that Hitler's "Reich" would last forever that he did not even conceal his treacherous inclinations: "Bolshevik power has gone forever. Bolsheviks in hiding must be found... and destroyed like dogs by being immediately handed over to the SD."

The misanthropic pathology of this fascist by vocation was nurtured not only on Hitlerite pieces of silver but also on the blood of the Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and also Crimean Tatars—whose fate in the Soviet Union he is so solicitous about today under the patronage of F. Yurter and his "national center," which has sold out to the special services—who were tortured by him or with his connivance! Do our people of any nationality—sons and daughters of the united Soviet people, including true patriots among the Crimean Tatars—need this? The question alone freezes the blood in the veins of every honest Soviet person! That is why the extremists at their rallies, of course, do not tackle such basic questions. Demagoguery and idle talk are more in vogue among these "leaders."

But most Crimean Tatars living in our republic are already tired of demagoguery. They are also tired of the petty intrigues over an "issue" which is being resolved today at state level and which remains an "issue" for the self-styled "leaders" for one reason: Without an artificially fanned ballyhoo, the leaders will remain naked. What do they have to their name? Neither true actions for the good of their people nor services to the people and society—just a blank.

Fearing what this yawning blank in the memory of even their closest associates may threaten, they are simulating turbulent activity through the agency of itinerant fishers in troubled waters. At M. Dzhemilev's invitation demagogues from the Crimea, Krasnodar Kray, and elsewhere rush to Uzbekistan. I. Umerov from Abinsk—brother of B. Umerov, the notorious provocateur—turned up 2 January in the settlement of Zafar in Bekabadskiy Rayon. He shared his "experience" of inflammatory activity accumulated outside our republic. Other travelers—A. Dzhepparov from Taman station (PRAVDA VOSTOKA has already talked about his failed "crusade march" from Taman to the Crimea), Z. Ametova from Crimean Oblast, who was previously dismissed from the 5th year at Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute for systematically violating academic discipline and cutting classes—also heated up the situation along with him.

The agitators who took up the aforementioned Sabriye "slogan" include S. Seutova, a staffer at the YILDYZ magazine, published in Tashkent in the Crimean Tatar language. She had long since exchanged the role of a journalist, who is essentially obliged to express public thought, for dubious laurels as the purveyor of dirty water to the screeching anti-Soviet propaganda mill of all those Western "voices." Readers know of her contacts with foreign press representatives—in partnership with M. Dzhemilev—from our newspapers and from Central Television broadcasts.

But the morass is engulfing her, and Sabriye's "resourcefulness" is the best illustration of this.

Last December S. Seutova and F. Ablyamitov were sent to Moscow to take part in meetings of antisocial elements. They were thrown out of the capital. On returning to Tashkent S. Seutova spread an obvious lie that she was roughly bundled into a car in Moscow and is now suffering from nausea and vomiting. She says that she complained to medics in Moscow about this.

In fact our checks have confirmed that she went to doctors in both Moscow and in Tashkent. But none of them (N. Bubnov, A. Kazakov, A. Piraliyev, and R. Ganiyev) detected any injury capable of causing nausea and vomiting.

But S. Seutova insisted on her story and had a consultation at a specialized republican neurosurgical center. Here is what Doctor of Medical Sciences Prof M. Kariyev, the leader of this center, told us:

"To give S. Seutova specialized treatment electrophysiological, ophthalmoneurological, otoneuralgic, and other clinical tests were carried out, which eliminated the possibility of craniocerebral injury and cranial and cephalic pathology in general. Then, after I had examined her, I completely rejected craniocerebral injury."

The extremists, of course, were not satisfied with these pronouncements. The desire to establish a false diagnosis at all costs led S. Seutova to the Uzlitfond clinic. However, there too doctors concluded that there was no pathology. Then her companion F. Ablyamitov insistently demanded that Seutova be hospitalized in the neurological ward. She was sent to the Tashkent Medical

Institute Clinic No 1. In the clinic she again faked symptoms of craniocerebral injury, complaining of headaches, dizziness, nausea, weakness, and so forth. A full clinical examination and a subsequent doctors' consultation headed by Professor N.M. Madzhidov excluded post-traumatic changes in brain function.

I must dwell on S. Seutova's stay in the Tashkent Medical Institute Clinic No 1 in more detail. A question arises here. It is interesting that while complaining of weakness and giddiness she managed to go to another ward in the endocrinology department where she stated her relative... Reshat Dzhemilev was lying. Yes, the extremist leader himself.

We know for certain that there is no relationship between them in the usual sense. There is another "kinship," if it may be called that—one of pernicious spirit, of hate—which drew them close. R. Dzhemilev also called on his "relative." The striking thing is this: Every time after these visits S. Seutova made more and more complaints, demanding additional examinations.

When, after the most authoritative consultation, she was told in most specific terms to discharge herself, she began to resort to new ruses, saying that people at home had not been notified of her return and that she had no things with her—in short, she delayed her discharge by any means. When this was straightened out, Galina Leonidovna Kumarina, her doctor, said to her:

"If you like, I myself will drive you home, you have no injury."

The response was a categorical "No!," threats against the doctors, and intimidation: "The BBC will start talking about me in 2 days at most."

This is possible taking into consideration all Sabriye's past "experience."

It was only the next morning that S. Seutova, accompanied by two deputy senior doctors, finally left for home.

Possibly Sabriye has an ailment, but not for the reason which she would like to foist on public opinion. There is no "great martyr" or "victim of terror" even in the guise of the blasphemous slogan of "terror against the people," of which the people themselves are, as they say, in complete ignorance. While building our new future and embarking with the whole country on the road of revolutionary transformations, the representatives of the Crimean Tatars in the multinational Soviet family have no thought of those tags and epithets which extremists are pinning on the state and on its law enforcement organs in hysterical pride in their exclusiveness.

What is all this hullabaloo about? Above all, satisfying the hunger of foreign "voices," which are increasingly insatiable in the atmosphere of developing democratization and glasnost in our country. Our ideological opponents need the artificially provoked "outbreaks of indignation" in order to present natural legitimate measures to enforce public order in the country as the "limitation of freedoms in the USSR."

This is also necessary for M. Dzhemilev's close friend A. Podrabinek—the author of "Repressive Medicine," an anti-Soviet book published abroad. This so-called "doctor" specialized in dreaming up falsehoods about "cases of harm done to the health of rights defenders by law enforcement organs," cases known to him alone, and disseminating them abroad. A verdict from the Tashkent City Court of 15 February 1984 on Dzhemilev's criminal case pointed out that in 1979 he fabricated false information for dissemination abroad together with A. Podrabinek about the allegedly poor condition of one V. Rozhdestvov, who was in a psychiatric hospital.

The lie was exposed. But the friendship between M. Dzhemilev and A. Podrabinek did not die—because it provides the liars with great income. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 15 March last year partially uncovered the "price of the friendship" of the two anti-Sovietists in an article entitled "Donors of Swindlers." It quoted a statement by V. Kuvakin that A. Podrabinek had for a long time received R250-300 monthly from a foreign anti-Soviet "foundation" for sending all kinds of defamatory insinuations to the West. For "just labor" A.M. Dzhemilev was sent from abroad via "Soyuzvneshtorg" a car registered across the ocean in the name of his brother Asan, to distract attention, the man whose wife (you remember?) was particularly zealous outside "Detskiy Mir" on the eve of the New Year.

Whipping up artificial passions around a by no means simple problem inherited from the past which is being comprehensively resolved today, the extremists from among the Crimean Tatars contrary to common sense and the good of the cause, are purposefully and methodically poisoning the minds of young people with the venom of nationalism, demagogically donning the guise of supporters of the policy of glasnost and democratization. How can all that has been said above be reconciled with this? For do ordinary people, including the Crimean Tatars, need the lies and filth about our homeland which are enthusiastically bought up abroad?

Definitely not! They, particularly the representatives of older generations, worthy and respected people, have condemned the provocative actions of the extremists and liars. Understanding where M. Dzhemilev and "leaders" like him are heading, one of their appeals asks in alarm:

"In what state and under what political system is M. Dzhemilev, a vehement opponent of Marxism, thinking of creating autonomy?"

Let alarm and concern for people touch your hearts! But remember even so: Alarm is still not enough. In the sixties and seventies Bekir Osmanov, a veteran of the partisan movement in the Crimea, now deceased, sternly rebuffed M. Dzhemilev's attempts and those of his friends to exploit the so-called "national question of the Crimean Tatars" for subversive purposes in the interests of Western special services and all kinds of transatlantic benefactors.

It is not enough to be alarmed. Everyone must have a clear stance, such as expressed in this collective letter:

"Esteemed editorial office! The Council of Veterans of War and Labor from Dzhizak Oblast's Gallyaralskiy Rayon asked us to print this letter. We think that the most sensitive questions must be resolved not in a narrow context but together with Russians, Uzbeks, and people of other nationalities with whom we live as one family. This will be honest and fair. The extremist agitators must be called to account. R.A. Abduazizov, S.I. Bagautdinov, and T.I. Gusev, members of the Council of Veterans of War and Labor."

Let everyone understand this.

Let everyone act in accordance with this.

In the name of the great friendship among the Soviet peoples, which the "lovers of truth" who have sold out cannot besmirch.

Lithuanian President Examines Vatican Appeal
LD1014[illegible] Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Vilnius February 10 TASS—"The church cannot be used for political purposes," high priests of the Lithuanian Catholic Church have pointed out during a traditional meeting with the republic's parliamentary leaders at the presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet.

President Vitautas Astrauskas drew their attention to the recent broadcast of Radio Vatican calling on the population of this Baltic Republic to mark in churches the so-called act of independence of bourgeois Lithuania on February 16.

The appeal kindling enmity towards other ethnic groups of the Soviet Union and provoking anti-social excesses was signed among others by ten Lithuanian priests.

An account in the republican newspaper TIESA observed that those were a handful of extremists who "would like to cross out the fact that the Lithuanian people chose the path of socialist development way back in 1918."

The Lithuanian Catholic Church leaders said they had nothing to do with the "appeal." They also announced that church services in February would follow the usual liturgical calendar.

Anniversary Must Prompt Review of Atheist Work
PM101033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Okulov article: "Landmark of Spiritual Freedom. On the 70th Anniversary of Lenin's Decree 'On the Separation of the Church From the State and Schools From the Church'"]

[Text] The 70th anniversary of Great October has revealed with special force the humanist essence of the revolutionary transformations begun in October 1917. The victorious revolution vigorously eliminated the antidemocratic institutions of the old society. During the very first months it proclaimed the separation of the church from the state and of schools from the church and turned the Communist Party's program demands on freedom of conscience into a law of the Soviet state. The decree "On the Separation of the Church From the State and Schools From the Church," adopted by the Council of People's Commissars 20 January (2 February) 1918, drew a line under almost 1,000 years of Orthodoxy as the ruling church.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of freedom of conscience found clear legislative expression in the decree in articles such as:

"1. The church is separated from the state.

"2. Within the borders of the Republic it is forbidden to issue any local laws or resolutions which constrain or restrict freedom of conscience or lay down any advantages or privileges whatever on grounds of citizens' religion.

"3. Every citizen may profess any religion or profess none. Any disfranchisement associated with the profession of any faith whatever or with the profession of none is revoked."

Prior to the October Revolution 99 percent of the population had a link with religion in one way or another.

Under those conditions a new, long-term task of very profound complexity arose on a very large scale. The Communist Party linked the struggle against religious ideology, above all, with revolutionary changes in life, the fundamental reorganization of society, and a change in people themselves. Socialism eliminated poverty and unemployment and gave the working person confidence in the future. Society helped individuals to find the purpose of life here, on earth.

Despite the fact that Lenin's decree was marked by a spirit of tolerance toward the church, the latter displayed hostility to the revolution after the establishment of Soviet power. Unfortunately, countermeasures were sometimes distinguished by "extremes." But even during years when those "extremes" were to be observed, atheist work certainly did not amount just to the "refutation" of religion. It helped people to find an answer to that entire, vast range of questions which had previously been the monopoly of religious ideology and shaped scientific, materialist ideas about the world and its laws, about man's moral and spiritual values. Even prominent religious figures have to acknowledge this if they look at the facts objectively. In his well-known book "Marxism and Christianity" the celebrated Italian theologian Giulio Girardi wrote: "The success of Marxism in the modern world is incontestable and considerable: Marxism attracts the masses and the intelligentsia, rich and poor, peoples with an ancient culture and young nations; it has active, committed, passionate, noble followers, and it has its heroes and its martyrs."

What I have said should not give the impression that the rapid process of our society's secularization observed during the building of socialism in itself delivers us from complex problems. Anatole France once said: "In the slow and uncoordinated advance of the human race the head of the caravan has already entered the shining spheres of science, while its tail is still trudging along in a dense fog of superstitions, in a dark area full of evil spirits and ghosts." We see how difficult it sometimes is for even educated people to part with these ghosts and move nearer to the head of the caravan, to the heights of spiritual freedom, to a scientific world outlook. Obviously, we have here phenomena which must not be rejected thoughtlessly: It is necessary to study and understand them, avoiding doctrinaire rhetoric and superficiality. People turn to religion not only because of survivals from the past but because of the limited and undeveloped nature of human practice. Clearly, it cannot be denied that the process of social deformations of various kinds has also had an appreciable effect on the maintenance of religiosity in the country.

It must also be borne in mind that many religious organizations have managed more or less to adapt their activities to the modern conditions of life in our society. They display a wide range of approaches to people's earthly affairs and concerns and to the actual conditions of their existence, and the church cannot now do without this. The active involvement of religious organizations in the peace movement and in supporting the Soviet state's peace-loving policy plays a special role in this context. "Together with the clergy and the hierarchy," Patriarch Pimen says, "our all-Russian flock feels profound satisfaction with our motherland's genuine peace-loving policy. We are faced with the very important task of making every effort to rid the earth and the skies of nuclear weapons. We church people are conscious of this as the most important concern in our peacemaking service." The Soviet people value highly this activity of church organizations.

Without exaggerating these trends, it is still possible to say that a switch from proclaiming the principles of the social neutrality of religion to propagandizing ideas of its social significance has become clearly apparent in recent years.

At the same time, one cannot fail to see that the church is stepping up religious activity and propaganda, making frequent use of the lack of spirituality in society and a certain indifference toward atheist work under modern conditions. This is particularly noticeable now, at the time of the Orthodox Church's preparations for the 1,000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia. It is not surprising, therefore, that the church's political loyalty and its treatment of many vital problems of the present day may sometimes be accompanied by a certain strengthening of its ideological position in society. It is therefore necessary to step up atheist work among all sections of the population, particularly among young people. There are flaws in it. Many of them are rooted in a deviation from the provisions of Lenin's 1918 decree. Atheist work is a subtle, delicate matter. However, even now it frequently does not take entirely into account the tremendous changes occurring both in the life of our country and in the activities of religious organizations, in the life and conduct of the believers with whom we have been and are building the new society.

High culture is required of propagandists of atheism, for there is no place for bare negation here. Our tasks are positive: to assert a scientific, materialist world outlook and the kind of real humanism in which the people are the true makers of history, and the individual is not "God's slave" but a being endowed with reason and will, a subject of consciousness and activity, capable of mastering knowledge of objective laws and using that knowledge to elevate the individual himself.

For propagandists of atheism and for everyone involved in the noble and rewarding cause of people's spiritual liberation from religious and other illusions, the 70th anniversary of Lenin's decree "On the Separation of the Church From the State and Schools From the Church" provides an excellent opportunity not only to review the path traveled and sum up what has been done but also to better comprehend modern tasks.

Reader Describes Difficulties in Obtaining Visas

PM091234 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 12

[Letter from M. Lichagina on readers' letters page: "Under a Cloak of Secrecy"]

[Text] It is not easy to write about this. If you are unlawfully dismissed from your job or crossed off the housing list, it is all quite clear. But our adversary hides under a cloak of secrecy. Let me begin at the beginning.

My husband, a native of Moscow, went into the war in Belorussia 22 June 1941. He could have been killed on several occasions, at Minsk, at Berezino, and in the Mogilev and Smolensk regions. But he survived, although he was severely wounded at Yelnya. Of 150 lads who left for the front from Ostozhenka and Kropotkinskaya (they were all in the same division), only 3 came home alive, including my husband. That is the arithmetic.

In 1982 my husband retired on pension, so as to take up literary work. But instead, he was dragged into a merciless, exhausting struggle with the MVD OVIR [Department of Visas and Registration], which has been going on for nearly 4 years.

So, to the crux of the matter. For a long time some old friends from the GDR—public figures, including a colleague of my husband's, a well-known journalist—have visited us nearly every year, and we have visited them several times. We had no difficulties over the visa formalities.

When a new chief arrived at the Frunzenskiy Rayon OVIR in Moscow City, strange things began to happen. He seemed to be taunting us: First he will "permit," then he will "refuse." He made us both haunt his institution for 3 months. Once he suggested that my husband find a man who would sell him a car "on the cheap." My husband could stand it no longer; he wrote about the unworthy behavior of the OVIR chief and the department's disgraceful attitude to people's requests.

Soon the rayon OVIR chief was removed from his post; but in revenge, a "brick wall" of refusals grew up before us. The impression was created that some kind of manipulation had taken place with our file. In the OVIR's characteristic conditions of assumed secrecy, we were refused permission to travel abroad or receive our friends from abroad. All our appeals to various bodies received the same standard response from our OVIR: "The grounds for refusal may not be revealed."

Meanwhile senior officials from the MVD were stating in the press: "OVIR staffers are obliged to reveal the reasons for refusal. This is not an innovation, it has always been the case."

When we realized that the MVD was sending us "round and round in circles," always ending up back at the OVIR, my husband turned to the USSR Prosecutor's Office. If I was to go into detail about that "circle" too, the general prosecutor would be ashamed of his apparatus.

For the last 3 years we have renewed every 6 months our invitation to our friends from the GDR, as well as our applications to visit them. A stubborn, exhausting struggle has been waged. We did not want to surrender. Just imagine: Twice a year, all the documents for the invitation and for the visit, all in duplicate, with all the certificates and seals for 3 years—24 complete sets!

Eventually the OVIR workers, broken by our persistence, stated that my husband was involved in secret work. (But he retired 5 years ago, and the certificate from his last work place (1973-1982) confirmed that he had nothing to do with any "secrets." He has traveled abroad on several occasions since 1975. They showed me Clause 25 of the resolution: "...If he has information about state secrets or if there are other factors touching on the security of the state....") I asked them: Fine, that's my husband. But what about me? I retired 4 years ago, and traveled and received visitors together with my husband; for the last 20 (!) years I worked as a draftswoman at the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Architecture and Planning Administration Moscow Scientific Research and Design Institute of Standard and Experimental Planning on designs for standard mass-produced housing. What has Clause 25 to do with me? The answer: "It's because you are his wife."

We tried to clarify the matter officially. We wrote letters to Chekalin, chief of the Rayon Internal Affairs Administration. We received no reply. To Bogdanov, chief of Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. They called us: "The MVD does not give written replies" (!). Another "round" with the law. We wrote two letters simultaneously: I wrote to Vlasov, the MVD minister, and my husband wrote to Moscow CPSU Gorkom. I am still waiting for an answer! But my husband was immediately received by Comrade L.P. Belyanskiy, chief of Moscow CPSU Gorkom Administrative Organs Department, and in 2 (!) weeks I received permission for the trip! Yet 2 months earlier they had refused me permission to invite guests—still under Clause 25! Now my husband, too, was given permission to invite guests!

It later emerged that the rayon OVIR had contacted the organization my husband left 16 years ago, where he did not take part in any secret developments and did not travel anywhere. Under pressure, the OVIR had obtained the necessary "objections" from this organization. All this was behind our backs.

Dishonest people from the organization where my husband worked long ago and where, incidentally, he enjoyed great respect, had played it safe and allowed themselves to be led by the OVIR officials. I wonder why?...

This story contains many pages of arbitrariness and lawlessness which it grieves me to leave out in order to save space. But one thing is food for thought: To suit their own ambitions, MVD officials are "flexing their muscles" against the good name of a war veteran and patriot.

Moreover, our press has repeatedly written about the OVIR's "tricks," which negate the many initiatives and efforts of foriegn policy departments and the public, show us in a bad light to the world community, and prepare people for psychological breakdown and even emigration. Many of our friends abroad are watching our struggle with interest. The members of the apartment block council, which my husband heads, want to write a collective letter in his defense. We objected: We don't need defending, everything should be resolved fairly.

Readers Want Secondhand Markets Reopened
PM101105 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 88 Second Edition p 6

["Letters Review" by P. Katin: "Words of Praise for the Secondhand Markets"]

[Text] When secondhand markets were closed down in the cities and rayon centers, the arguments in favor of this measure, which seemed progressive at the time, were as follows: The secondhand market is a shady side of our reality. It is fertile ground for speculation and generally causes a lot of trouble, it was pointed out in the feuilleton entitled "A Few Words on the Secondhand Market" (PRAVDA 22 Nov 1987).

Now, after a good hundred readers have written in in response, it is quite possible to find certain similarities between them. M. Ivonina from Poltava: "When the secondhand markets were closed down, the importance of this 'revolutionary' decision was broadly explained to the population, but no one got around to finding out what the people actually thought about it. As a result speculators have now become established at factories, plants, and institutions. Underground bazaars are very frequently organized in our plant shops. Everything on sale is new—from perfume to footwear, from knitwear to underwear."

The reader goes on to make the point that the organizers of these bans obviously had an ulterior motive: Close down the secondhand markets and the people will buy up all the old stock. This has not happened, however. Perhaps, she concludes, "we should stop feeling ashamed and open up our own markets?"

This suggestion is supported by A. Sokhonchuk from Kremenchug, Ye. Foksha from Kishinev, a group of labor veterans from Donetsk, and G. Oleynik from the city of Nikolayev. "Markets should be opened up everywhere, as this would help to reduce shortages and make people feel better," writes I. Yeremeyev, a carpenter at the Tajik Agricultural Institute, and he even underlines these particular words in his letter.

About people's mood, incidentally: the editorial mail dedicated to such a seemingly prosaic subject as buying and selling contains both recollections and revelations. "For me the market was the beginning of a young man's dream," Muscovite L. Pukalchik writes. "Our Pioneer detachment was poor, as the patrons themselves were poor, but we passionately wanted to go to camp. So, at our detachment meeting we decided to earn the money ourselves. We accepted samovars, teapots, harnesses, shaft bows, lamps, scythes, and mirrors on receipt from our patrons and held four lotteries at the market. One in 10 tickets was a prize-winner; the market was crowded, the goods were first-rate, people were almost pulling the fence down to get in. That particular camp has always stayed in my memory as a time of childhood happiness: after all, it was all our own work." The author goes on to talk about how he became a sportsman thanks to his first bicycle, the spare parts for which were picked up at a market; he later took up motorcycling and rallying, going in for races through mountainous parts of the Caucasus, traveling across country....

A letter from A. Bondareva from Rostov-na-Donu tells us just how far the mania for banning things has gone. "In October I went to the city of Bataysk," she writes. "I had decided to sell some clothes my grandchildren had long grown out of and buy them something for everyday use at the same time. But as soon as I got among the old women selling secondhand clothes I immediately attracted the attention of a militiaman."

Events developed as follows: The officer on duty seized her bag and told her to follow him to the duty room, where they began to draw up an indictment. She was told she had broken a gorispolkom resolution. Her individual pensioner certificate and her badge of honor as a CPSU member of 50 years standing had absolutely no effect. But even this was not the end of it. A few days later A. Bondareva was summoned to the administrative commission at Kirov Ispolkom. "True, I got away without a fine," she concludes. "It is something, at least, that they saw no evil intent in my commercial activity, but the shame will stay with me for the rest of my life."

So, problems have built up around the subject of the secondhand markets; perhaps the author of the feuilleton did not even dream of showing their entire depth. As always in such cases, readers helped. The speculation issue is clearer than daylight: Closing down the secondhand markets not only has not solved the problem, as everyone hoped, but has actually contributed to the mutual responsibility of the illegal vendor of deficit goods and those wishing to buy them. Commission stores are in no position to solve the problem, as they base their commodity turnover plan on the infamous 7 percent from the commission. It is not so much to their advantage to sell something as it is to accelerate a reduction in price.

"The ban on selling things you do not need is in itself a humiliation and an insult, and the justification—namely, that sale is possible through a commission shop or a dealer—is laughable, because it is even hard to sell something new through these channels, as the whims and caprices of the acceptance officer know no bounds," teacher E. Arsenyev from Khimki, near Moscow, writes.

"Despite the fact that the factory label on the woman's coat I took to a commission store clearly showed the price—R90—they offered me only R16 for it. The explanation they gave was that it was out of fashion" (A. Zaporozhets, Rostov-na-Donu).

"It is no secret that much of what we buy in the stores is a pig in a poke," G. Goryunova from Nalchik writes. "It often happens that when you buy things like underwear, nightwear, and stockings, you get them home, try them on—and shout bloody murder! What are you supposed to do with them? Take them to work, give them to a girlfriend? You are afraid to give almost new children's clothes to anyone in case they think you are a beggar. If there were a market then you could take them there...."

"It seems to me that feeding the moths with good clothes is not economical, either for the family concerned or for the state as a whole. So much raw material, energy, equipment, and manpower could be saved by reducing the output of goods as a result of putting those available to effective use," believes L. Romanova from Maykop in Krasnodar Kray.

She is not just concerned with getting rid of unnecessary items but with our economy as a whole. She continues: "As is well known, every market pays the so-called market tax directly into the local budget. The revenue from secondhand markets was quite significant and was used for providing amenities and facilities in cities and other population centers. So who was this revenue a problem for? Surely local soviets could still use it, as they are constantly complaining about a shortage of resources."

We can see that in their letters readers support the idea raised by the newspaper and even take it to a new level. The editorial mail does contain letters opposed to the idea, however. I. Popov from Sevastopol cites familiar arguments. "I am against the revival of these secondhand markets. The author of the feuilleton is probably unaware of the damage they have done to our state. They were fertile ground for a large number of parasites, speculators, and thieves, who were able to sell their ill-gotten gains. I have known such incidents...." In this connection I could also remind you of an incident which must have happened in every city: A woman hangs her washing on the line, turns her back for a moment, and...her washing and the line have all disappeared.... The majority of readers, however, are in favor of bringing back the good old secondhand market—with better organization, naturally.

Unfortunately, the bundle of letters responding to the feuilleton "A Few Words on the Secondhand Market" failed to produce a single official reply. Whereas the authors of the letters responded as one to this alarming topic, the local city and village authorities have maintained an equally monolithic silence. The situation today is this: Wait and see what those above say, even after publication. But in this particular case nothing should be expected from "those above," as the local soviets and no one else "rule the roost" in an area of no more than several hundred square meters. Everyone is perfectly capable of solving this problem. Perhaps the union republics' councils of ministers could whisper to those who are still waiting that there is nothing to actually wait for? Husband and wife N. and V. Golubev from Sumy seem to explain the situation very well. They think that the closure of the secondhand markets is a phenomenon characteristic of the stagnation period. These markets were obviously banned by those local leaders who did not buy their clothes and shoes from the local store, let alone from the market. "In our opinion," they write, "the author of the feuilleton expressed the thoughts of tens of millions of Soviet citizens who believe that markets are both essential and necessary and that people can only benefit from them. Local soviets should be made responsible for providing the necessary equipment for these markets, so that they are suited for their purpose and do not degrade human dignity."

This opinion is obviously worth listening to. Having used only some of the letters in this survey, the editorial board will be sending the remainder to the local soviets.

Workers Deplore 'Pamyat' Activists' Behavior

PM101005 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 88 p 4

["What Are the 'Blackshirts' Calling For? Letter From Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant Workers"—MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] We, like many Muscovites, had heard of and read press reports about those who style themselves the "'Pamyat' Patriotic Association." It was further rumored that they, in their capacity as an independent association, intended to start working within the plant's Palace of Culture. Quite naturally, we wished to hear from its actual members and see for ourselves what they advocate and what they aim for.

The workers and members of the engineering and technical staff who assembled in the hall of the Likhachev Plant [ZIL] Palace of Culture 26 January had hoped for a businesslike, specific, and keen conversation, especially on serious topics like remembrance of the historical path we have covered and tasks concerning the further augmenting of our material and spiritual wealth.

It would be impossible to preserve the people's traditions and their moral health without good memories of the past, no matter how hard it may have been. We are proud of the feats accomplished by our forebears at the Kulikovo and Borodino battlefields and of the heroism of our grandfathers and fathers who established and upheld Soviet power. Of course, the illegalities of the thirties and the slippages of the seventies cannot be wiped off the record. They represent our shared sorrow and are the lessons of the past.

It is part of our duty to future generations to learn from our history and to respect it.

The changes now taking place are gratifying and promising. Major measures are being implemented in Moscow to revive the city's unique historical image and its architectural monuments. We realize that a tremendous amount of work still lies ahead and that it is too early to rest content.

It is worrying that this work often comes up against bureaucratic obstacles, that there are still instances of scornful attitudes toward ancient monuments, that "blank spots" in textbooks are being eliminated only slowly, and that a great many samples of folklore are being irretrievably lost to our offspring.

Nevertheless, a turnabout has been achieved, and it was born out of the revolutionary restructuring headed by the party. People increasingly feel that they are genuine makers of their own history, masters of their own lives. They have actively joined in the solution of difficult ecological problems and are taking part in planning the development of the economy and culture. Public opinion is becoming a real force, and this gives us confidence that even complex problems will be overcome.

Workers in the motor vehicle plant showed understanding of the desire of a group of Muscovites, proclaiming themselves to be utterly devoted to the people's memory, to contribute toward nurturing respect for the fatherland's history and to give specific assistance to restructuring.

But events developed in a different direction. Kim Andreyev, Dmitriy Vasilyev, Aleksey Gladkov, and some others, speaking as leaders of "Pamyat," tried to turn the Palace of Culture meeting into a noisy and insulting spectacle.

What ideas and feelings were supposed to be aroused by the guests who arrived at the meeting wearing...black T-shirts printed with a symbolic bell? Why were they ringing alarm bells from the stage of our Palace of Culture?

They called on us to launch a struggle against "dark forces" in the country which are allegedly "destroying the people's national image" and are bringing down the state. What is this—persecution mania or frenzied chauvinism? They lamented the fact that some aktiv members are now without work because of "persecution." We offered them work at the ZIL. After all, working in our plant is a good way to make a contribution to the economy, and wages are guaranteed. We realize, however, that this idea does not appeal to them.

They wanted to force on us their own vision of democracy. But how can you describe a raging crowd and malicious hissing against any differing viewpoint as democracy? No, we disagree with this! Let us say it bluntly, like the workers we are: They will not get away with it. We will not allow anybody to speculate on our democracy.

Soviet people always have political vigilance in mind, and it is not up to demagogues and loudmouths to teach us how to defend the gains of socialism.

They called on us to struggle against forces "defiling history" and to bring to the surface "the deepest layers of the fatherland's history and culture."

We have no knowledge of struggle against mythical forces, but we are perfectly capable of perceiving for ourselves the need to protect, revive, and augment the best traditions of the people.

This is why we proposed: Let us set up a historical-cultural center at the site of the former Simon Monastery next to the plant. It could also house a museum of the heroes of the Kulikovo Field battle. We could help to revive some examples of ancient arts and crafts. The center could also offer family leisure facilities.

But it appears that this is not a part of the "Pamyat" leaders' plans, either. They prefer to accuse and denounce, quite willingly leaving us to perform the duty to work.

Unfortunately, there was no businesslike discussion with the present "Pamyat" leaders who claim official status. We were not to blame. They strove for just one thing—to make us assent to their demands, which have nothing to do with either Soviet patriotism or proletarian internationalism.

Having realized that the motor vehicle plant workers would not fall for this, the "Pamyat" leaders simply adopted an even more defiant attitude. We were forced to demand that they leave the Palace of Culture.

We are all for the people's memory; for its honest and pure champions; for the preservation of the best that has been bequeathed to us by previous generations, by our fathers and grandfathers.

Work of architects and heritage of artists, literary monuments and music, folklore and our nature—these are our shared assets, the wealth of the entire country. This is why we perceive the flourishing and mutual enrichment of our peoples' national cultures as the way to augment the traditions of the multinational Soviet culture, the way for its development and consolidation.

In our view, there is broad scope for efforts by genuine patriots. This includes regional studies, creation of public museums, and the organization of exhibitions. It includes historical-patriotic work in our own plant, in

housing developments, in educational establishments, and in young people's hostels. It includes the organization of folklore events, festivals, and competitions.

The social importance of the "Pamyat" movement must be determined by specific and weighty deeds. This is the only way it will gain Muscovites' respect and will be of real benefit to society.

Hero of Socialist Labor L.M. Barinov, lathe operator at ZIL and Moscow City Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor Yu.T. Barulina, foundry core maker; A.P. Bulantseva, secretary of the pressing shop party committee and deputy chairman of the ZIL Labor Collective Council; Ye.N. Osinkin, chairman of the ZIL Association Trade Union Committee; A.N. Malakhov, secretary of the ZIL Komsomol Committee; A.Yu. Zogol, USSR State Prize Winner and fitter in the pressing shop; P.M. Sturov, modelmaker at the ZIL design shop; A.N. Skirdov, engineer in the Chief Metallurgist's Department; T.N. Matveyeva, fitter in the No 2 Mechanical Assembly Shop; A.S. Kuznetsov, bureau chief at the Design and Experimental Work Administration; Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.A. Sysoyeva, lecturer at the ZIL Plant's Technical VUZ; veteran plant worker V.I. Apatov; L.Ye. Kazakova, director of the ZIL Palace of Culture

'Historical Nihilism' of Shatrov Play Derided

PM051525 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jan 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V.V. Gorbunov and Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof V.V. Zhuravlev: "What Do We Want To See in the Mirror of the Revolution? Thoughts on M. Shatrov's Play 'Onward...Onward...Onward!'"]

[Text] The name of the author of the new play "Onward...Onward...Onward!" published in the first issue of ZNAMYA needs no recommendation. M. Shatrov's plays about Lenin have long been successfully staged in many theaters in our country and abroad. When Shatrov's name appears on billboards it means that a sharp and controversial subject awaits the audience, it means that it will receive a mass of interesting historical information, it means that there will be thoughts on the lessons of history.

Shatrov's plays interest not only the mass audience but also historians, and although professionals may often argue with the author about the accuracy of his account of some fact, some remark by a historical character, or the time when certain words were spoken, such remarks are still the product of pedantry—the playwright has the right to artistic invention and conjecture, to his vision of events. In this connection it is appropriate to cite one of Lenin's concise observations on reading L. Feuerbach's "Lectures on the Essence of Religion": "Art does not require that its works are recognized as reality." But this does not give the artist the right to distort reality, or to depart from reality.

Shatrov once expressed a thought which impresses us, that "none of us, regardless of talent, can invent conflicts, events, and turning points in history more acute or vivid than those which existed in life itself" (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 30 Apr 1985). The playwright is belittling his role somewhat here, trying to persuade us that the main thing is to find a sharp conflict in the flood of events, and bingo, the details of the historical interior can then be calmly filled in. Shatrov's plays, of course, cannot be reduced to this. Factors which have always distinguished the talented dramatist's output are the basing of works on specific historical material and getting as close as possible to historical material, and he has gained deserved success in this field.

In his new play Shatrov to a certain degree has changed his traditional way of presenting specific facts, has tried to take his heroes beyond the actual timeframe of their lives; this was presumably done in order to deal with the historical material more freely. Without claiming to have fully analyzed the play, we must note that on this path the playwright has not avoided serious flaws in shedding light on our country's history.

M. Shatrov's play "Onward...Onward...Onward!" is a work with a very specific aim: Its main point is to debunk Stalin as a historically reactionary character who betrayed Lenin's cause and turned off the socialist path, which led to an almost pro-tsarist society (see pages 31-32 and elsewhere.) The regime of dictatorial lawlessness, mass repressions, moral breakdown, and complete deviation from Lenin's behests is the determining indicator of the society portrayed by the author. The Lenin theme itself, ostensibly the main one, nonetheless appears in the play as subordinate and is replaced by and in certain respects opposes the key Stalin theme.

The author sees the main thrust of the play as being to show the audience, through the clash of opinions of his various heroes, the workings of a kind of consultation to diagnose the country's illness. "And these 3 hours," he says through the mouth of F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, "represent our contribution to the consultation, nothing more" (page 42).

By choosing for his play the free form of polemical dialogues not connected with a strict timeframe and historical authenticity, the author whimsically mixes the real and the fantastic and forces his heroes after their deaths to give explanations of their past actions and trade mutual recriminations. This structure, in itself quite interesting, contains an unjustified liberty which contradicts historical truth. The author forces Lenin, as if before the court of history, to assume responsibility for a decisive mistake influencing the entire course of the subsequent development of events: It was not the party,

not its 13th congress but he personally who failed to debar Stalin from the leadership. In the concluding part of the play, where the author sums up and through the voices of his heroes reflects on the reasons for all our misfortunes, he makes Lenin say these words: "Don't spare me! Let everyone know that I don't shirk the moral guilt and responsibility for what happened" (page 49). These words seem to some current critics to be the key to Shatrov's entire play, and there is even a review of the play with the pretentious title "Everyone Is Answerable to History" (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 1988, No 2, page 12).

It is characteristic that Shatrov makes not just anybody but Plekhanov, Martov, and Spiridonova the judges of history in the last acts of the play. So the playwright makes Plekhanov make a kind of denunciation: "No people in Europe would have tolerated such a government for the chain of prewar mistakes, which show astonishing amateurism and arrogance" (page 50). But the real Plekhanov condemned the October Revolution very harshly! So how right is it to see him as the judge and bearer of ultimate truths, so to speak?

In absolutizing the role of the subjective factor in history, the author essentially ignores the significance of history's objective laws. Focusing mainly on the problems of the regime of personal power in its Stalinist form, the playwright seemingly forgets the well-known Marxist tenet that the presence of such a regime does not remove from the agenda the question of the real class foundations of power as a whole, for "state power does not exist in a vacuum." In light of the historical facts can anyone seriously believe that the personality cult, for all its pernicious and tragic manifestations, totally overshadowed the classes and other social forces of our system with their ideals, real social interests, and aspirations?

The playwright is openly sarcastic about Marxist historians' key thesis of the decisive role of the people's masses in society and gives the helm of history primarily to those who are on the bridge (page 17).

Probably in order to preempt future adversaries' desire to draw the author's attention to the fact that the country's fate as depicted in the play is decided by the struggle among a couple of dozen historical personalities, Shatrov places remarks critical of himself in the mouth of Stalin: "Why do our heroic people have no role here?" (page 17). The calculation is extremely simple: Anyone who dares to repeat this question automatically puts himself on a par with Stalin. But it is not a question of flooding the stage with a featureless crowd, "the masses," as indeed often happened in plays of the memorable personality cult era. In "Boris Godunov" by A.S. Pushkin "the people are silent," but it is clear to readers and to the audience that they ultimately have the last word. Shatrov's play is not marked by similar clarity of position regarding the place and role of the people and the party in the events of our October and post-October history.

The author persistently advances the idea that Stalin, as a demonic personality, was able to oppose the natural laws and requirements of socialist building, turn the country from the highway of history, and bring about a degeneration of the country, as a result of which the revolution's voice "becomes muted or barely audible." It is difficult to agree with such an interpretation of the basic laws of social development.

The events of 24 October 1917 (the play's point of departure) and the Great October Socialist Revolution as a whole are presented in a simplistic manner. The author suggests that if Lenin had not been able to get to the Smolnyy in time (Trotskiy and Stalin and even the Central Committee as a whole did their utmost to prevent this, he claims, postponing a decision on the question of power until the opening of Second Congress of Soviets), then the compromisers could have retarded the revolution (Dan's remark near the end of the play: "When I saw him at midnight in the Smolnyy, I realized that everything was lost and the machinery of insurrection would gather full speed"; page 53). It is interesting that the author places remarks in a similar vein in the mouth of Lenin himself, who, Fofanova admits, fears not so much arrest on the way to the Smolnyy as arrest in the Smolnyy itself! (page 16).

Now about the general historical perspective of socialist building, our country's path toward socialism, as shown in the play. The author investigates two substantially different viewpoints on this question, and this generally accords with the historical truth. Bukharin represents the first, and Stalin the second. The first defended the necessity of a prolonged (decades-long) period of transition to socialism, the gradual acceptance of [vrastaniye v] socialism by the peasantry, and the maintenance of the NEP for the whole period. The second insisted on the need for an accelerated pace of development and forced industrialization of the country and collectivization of the countryside. Through his heroes the author declares this second course to be pernicious and complains that the country did not develop in Bukharin's way (page 25). A shaky position: What would have happened if... But the point here is not missed opportunities but clear understanding of the real fact, confirmed by the course of history, that the party had no choice, no alternative but to literally sprint the distance between backwardness and developed industry and the cooperativization of agriculture in the shortest time possible, otherwise the collapse of the revolutionary cause would have been inevitable.

In his last work "Better Fewer But Better" Lenin, showing great concern for the fate of the development of the world revolutionary process, called on working people in all countries to be ready also for a military clash "between the counterrevolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East, between the most civilized states of the world and the backward states of the East," which, however, constitute the majority. Here Vladimir Ilich stressed: "...this majority must succeed in

civilizing itself." There you have it—succeed in civilizing itself, otherwise it will be crushed and eliminated. Becoming civilized is a dual task—developing the economy and developing culture. All this relates to the question of the pace of socialist building.

We would also like to note that a play generally devoted to our party's history does not show this party's historical role as the leading force in the revolution and the building of socialism, or the collective work of the Central Committee led by Lenin. It shows individual leading party figures, who do nothing but make mistakes, argue among themselves, plot against each other and accuse each other. The whole positive activity of the working people's vanguard which secured the worldwide historic victory in the October Revolution and at the fronts in the civil war, the building of socialism, the unparalleled defense of it in the Great Patriotic War, and then the country's rebirth from ruins and ashes—all this has escaped from the author's view. This is annoying.

The author also incorrectly interprets a key Marxist term like the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the play Lenin agrees with R. Luxemburg's straightforward statement that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the "most unlimited and broadest democracy" and that the infringement of political freedom is a "loathsome temporary necessity" (pages 21-23). The author apologizes, as it were, to his contemporaries for this state of affairs and makes Spiridonova testify: "On the 22d Lenin again returned to the idea of legalizing the Mensheviks" (page 34). At the same time the play puts forward the idea that the hallmark of our country's development was the constant destruction of democracy: from the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly to the persecution of Tvardovskiy (this statement is placed in the mouth of Kerenskiy, but, typically, in his reply Sverdlov essentially does not object—page 5).

Nothing sufficiently convincing is counterposed to Stalin's claim in the play that, in striving to "forge steel ranks of our party through unity" (page 38), he was acting on the basis of the well known Leninist resolution "On Party Unity" adopted by the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress. However, at precisely this point, in our opinion, it would be important to expose with the utmost force the essential incompatibility of Stalinist methods with the Leninist approach to the problems of party unity and the clashes between different viewpoints and positions in the discussion of important questions, and to show the complete opposition between the personality cult and the Leninist concept of socialist democracy, the character and content of Lenin's struggle for its implementation.

A few words about how Lenin's direct speech and thoughts are conveyed in the play. It should be said that, typically of Shatrov's plays, these texts keep as close as possible to the primary sources (which is a very good thing). Revealing the image of the leader [vozhd] in actions, conversations, and speeches, the author usually takes readymade material from Lenin's works and memoirs. This material, in line with the artist's plan, is sometimes shifted in certain timeframes or somewhat constructed and worked up from different sources, which can be regarded as completely justified in works of art—it would not be a deviation from the historical truth. But the point is that there are deviations in Shatrov's latest play which, in our view, are unjustified.

For instance, after setting forth Lenin's well-known words on the possible transfer of Stalin from the post of general secretary and his replacement by someone more tolerant, loyal, and more considerate toward his comrades, the playwright, from his own imagination, makes Vladimir Ilich say: "I spoke to you about Frunze.... And what about Dzerzhinskiy?" (page 24). This is no longer simply a departure from what Lenin actually said, but a conjecture about Lenin's position on a fundamental question which presumably he did not leave open by accident.

Here is an example of a limited approach to Lenin's statements from his well-known article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians." From this whole work the playwright has chosen and cited almost verbatim just one phrase: "The Russian people have proven that they can give mankind great examples of struggle, not only great pogroms, hangings, tortures, great starvation, and great servility before the powerful of this world" (page 33). The context of Lenin's article and its entire thrust, defined by the title, are much broader than the cited words, and it would be important to make the reader aware of this.

But the main thing with which we definitely disagree is the general concept of the play's content—the concept of the degeneration of the Soviet state (in the play: "In this case are we building socialism or something contrary to its principles?..."—page 25), the concept of historical nihilism. These words, which Lenin speaks in the play, emphasizing their general sense, run counter to Lenin's ideas of the prospects for building socialism in our country.

Stalin and those who helped him certainly committed terrible illegal acts. This can neither be forgotten nor forgiven. But how is it possible to approach the whole history of our country after 1924 from this viewpoint, how is it possible to leave in the dark everything of which we are proud, which is part and parcel of our people's great achievements! As Maximilien Robespierre wrote, "you must not demoralize the nation for the same reason that you must not poison the ocean." Those are fair words, and they are worth pondering.

"We want to see ourselves in the mirror of the revolution, and the revolution in each day that we live." That is how Shatrov formulates in his introduction to the play his intention, which is geared to the organic fusion of history and the present time. The author's version, unfortunately, does not make it possible to "advance

without leaving anything behind this time" (page 3). Is this not the reason why the playwright's mirror does not reflect the measure of historical truth which our contemporaries have the right to expect?

Economic

PRAVDA Views 'Wage-Padding' Practice

PM111109 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Parfenov article under the "Restructuring and Us" under the rubric: "Wage-Padding"]

[Text] What is "wage-padding"? The Soviet Encyclopedia published in 1980 gives no answer. The concept has, however, been in existence for many decades. A construction section has made a mess of its current month's plan. Payday is, however, drawing near. "You can't leave a working man without money," the luckless leader thinks. Some work supervisors, foremen, and section chiefs "get themselves out of a fix" by putting down in the books as finished work which the collective has not yet started on.

After they have availed themselves of the leader's generosity at the state's expense once or twice, the workers themselves gradually get used to it and their enthusiasm for work declines.

What is the upshot of all this? Money is handed out month after month, but the new shop is not commissioned on time and nothing is produced.

Compare two figures taken from the section on the work of the construction complex in the USSR State Committee for Statistics annual report: Only 92 percent of the target for commissioning facilities was met, while 97 percent of the target for resources taken up (spent) was met. This 5-percent difference, in ruble terms, comes out at several billion rubles. The money has been spent, but was the expected effect obtained? But how could it be obtained more than 400 facilities on the state plan schedule have not been commissioned?

Of course wage-padding is far from the only reason for facilities failing to be commissioned. But if in the course of implementing radical reform we continue to be indulgent toward wage-padding we will not get a lot out of reform.

Wage-padding is multifaceted. People in any labor collective react keenly to how much someone gets per month, who has been passed over, who has not been noticed, and whose real contribution to the common cause has not been assessed. The following letter was received by the editorial office from Comrade Shagandin from Kursk, the driver of a truck-mounted tower crane: "My machine is complicated compared with other power-driven cranes of greater lifting capacity, but I am placed in the fourth category in terms of wages scale—the driver of such a crane can't go any higher. On our construction site a crane driver's work attitude and skill are disregarded for all intents and purposes when wages are determined; whether you go to sleep or work yourself to exhaustion makes no difference, you won't get more than R175. And yet the way I work during a shift has a direct bearing upon the installation workers. Incidentally, they generally get R15-20 per shift. Which works out at R300-400 per month. We crane drivers are at the crossroads: We do not know how to get away from this work where our labor is so unjustly assessed."

Article Three of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise says that the collective's economically accountable income serves as the source for the enterprise's production and social development and labor remuneration, is at the collective's disposal, is to be used independently, and may not be taken away.

Everything would appear straightforward. But here is what labor veteran E. Yarin from Moscow wrote to PRAVDA: "The recommendations approved by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems lay down that that all computations relating to the introduction of new wage rates and salaries must be submitted to the ministry, it examines them, and sets the timetable for their introduction. A departmental act has thus deprived labor collectives of the right to independendently resolve vitally important questions of introducing new wage scales and salaries, has it not?"

"Ministries," the author continues, "have hitherto been authorized to establish bonus indicators and the size of bonuses for enterprise leaders, their deputies, and many other heads of department, to assess the end results of their work, and to set the amount of bonus for each worker. Consequently, an enterprise leader has hitherto been deprived of the right to assess the work of his deputies and closest aides. Clearly the drafters of the recommendations consider that a ministry official or group of officials can assess people's work more objectively than their immediate leader, do they not?"

No, it is intolerable that the Law on the Enterprise be neutered for the sake of departmental interests. And enterprises' full economic accountability, self-financing, and independence must be implemented in practice as energetically as possible and people paid strictly according to their labor and its end result. Only then will we be able to do away with wage-padding.

Official Replies to Questions on Price Reform

PM101601 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Feb 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with N.I. Chekhlov, chief of the USSR State Committee on Prices General Economic Department, by Ye. Kotyayev, under the rubric "Polemics": "Who Will Actually Gain? More than 500 Letters in Response to the Article 'What Does the Price Mirror Reflect.' N.I. Chekhlov, Chief of the USSR State Committee on Prices General Economic Department, Continues the Discussion" — date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The editorial office received more than 500 letters containing reactions, comments, and suggestions in response to the article "What Does the Price Mirror Reflect" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 October 1987). The interest in the topic is understandable—prices affect the interests of each and every one of us. It is remarkable, however, that the dominant question in the letters is not "how much"—how much will various goods, services, and so on cost—but "why." Why should it cost so much, why are prices rising instead of falling, why was it necessary to reconstruct the existing price formation system? We did our best to cover all the views, grouping them together according to different topics. At the editorial office's request, Candidate of Economic Sciences Nikolay Ivanovich Chekhlov, chief of the USSR State Committee for Prices General Economic Department, replies to our readers' letters.

[Chekhlov] Let me make this clear right away: What I am going to say will not be an outline of any previously prepared documents or instructions. The elaboration of the concept of price formation reform is still not completed, and experts are still arguing on many important issues. Furthermore, the draft will be subject to discussion, and the final formulations and decisions will be made according to the results of this discussion. In other words, I will basically try to express my own views.

[Kotyayev] First question. Some readers, in particular A. Mozgovoy from Perm and Yu. Mikryukov from Fryazino in Moscow Oblast, ask: Was a fundamental restructuring of the price formation system really needed? Could we not have managed better with some "repair work"?

[Chekhlov] Partial changes will never get down to basics, they will never reflect the essence of the changes occurring within the national economy. Let me give an example to illustrate this. Sometime in the past, the price for a Kamaz truck was set at R18,000 when a conventional truck's maximum price at the time was R12,000. They had taken into account specific costs which proved to be higher than at the Minsk truck plant. Consequently, all who started using these trucks put additional amounts on to the prime costs of production, which were automatically included in cost calculations by production partners and consumers of components and semiprocessed articles, and were passed on right up to the ultimate consumer—we the public.

It is curious that subsequent attempts to reduce the truck's price encountered opposition from local leaders, who started claiming that this would reduce the republic's output volume. Without noticing this, we became accustomed to treating indicators as more real than specific products, commodities, and services. We came to accept an obvious absurdity whereby, in principle, lack of skill and inefficient work called for better assessment—value was directly determined by costs.

Will This Not Make Life Easier for Incompetents? [subhead]

[Kotyayev] Here is what L Biryukova from Beloretsk in the Bashkir ASSR writes on this subject: "I know from my own work that our people travel to the main administrations in Moscow to defend the prices for the plant's output, and they all try to set them higher. But what will happen if the situation remains the same now, with the transfer to self-financing? Won't the people suffer? Prices will rise, fewer goods may be available—but it will be claimed that gross output has increased...."

[Chekhlov] This is precisely why we need a different approach to price formation. Only costs which can be classified as socially necessary should be taken into account when determining prices. For example, if the price for a Kamaz truck were to be set now, the norm used would be the cost of similar output at, say, the Minsk truck plant, where it is much lower. The same would apply to refrigerators, clocks and watches, and so on. Anything over and above socially necessary costs is, so to say, a "personal matter" for enterprises. No matter how much they spend on their product, they will be reimbursed only for what society deems acceptable.

[Kotyayev] But let us amplify the term "socially necessary level." Engineer L. Vakulenko from Kiev, T. Petrova from Leningrad, and R. Loginova from Yaroslavl have all written on this topic. Here is what V. Stetsyuk from Zhukovskiy in Moscow Oblast has to say: "While working in the Maritime Kray, I saw on dozens of occasions fields with ripe tomatoes being plowed up at night. This is why we are importing vegetables from abroad." People are unwilling to accept as "socially necessary" any losses incurred in the fields, at vegetable bases, and during transportation. O. Kabanov from Moscow puts it thus: "It is a paradox—the management of a confectionery factory is stealing, the guards are stealing, but responsibility is shared among everybody, everybody is guilty...."

[Chekhlov] Responsibility must be borne by whoever has stolen or whoever is to blame for any waste. I believe that this truth will be more swiftly realized in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet], when a collective's prosperity will depend on the entire collective's diligence. But I would not apportion responsibility in such an unambiguous fashion: Someone is being wasteful while we are suffering. Moral condemnation of the "uncontrolled redistribution" of national wealth and indignation against sloppy and incompetent individuals, no matter how correct and ardent they may be, have no real effect on the law of value. Only labor creates value. Moreover, the "reckoning" of prices takes into account only labor costs which correspond with the average level of skills and intensiveness at any given moment in time. In other words, our living standards are in line with our working standards. Formerly, this conclusion would have hardly been of consolation to anyone—much was being done without the knowledge, and frequently even

contrary to the personal aspirations, of labor collective members. Individual, collective, and common interests contradicted one another. Whatever might have been advantageous for the collective at times had a painful effect on state and individual interests. But now the situation is changing. Full economic accountability, election of leaders, and democratization offer an opportunity for fuller manifestation of abilities, initiative, and creativity.

[Kotyayev] The letter from I. Viksna from Valmiyera in the Latvian SSR expresses doubts on this account: "As the country's economy switches to full economic accountability and self-financing, the store shelves will display only goods that are advantageous for producers. Semifinished materials, machine tools, and equipment will be delivered at high prices at enterprise level too, and this will ultimately also affect store prices. After all, there is no power which can force me, as a producer, to manufacture cheap goods, let alone to manufacture goods at a loss."

[Chekhlov] It is only natural that collectives should strive for maximum profit. In this sense, our economy is in no way different from any other. Whenever there is an opportunity to increase prices, it is taken advantage of. This is why we need a special economic mechanism to filter out any unearned profits. As I have already said, one of the avenues would be to set prices for basic and advanced products without taking specific costs into account. Furthermore, the main emphasis is now placed on consumer qualities. Fertilizers are valued only in terms of active nutrients, turbines in terms of unit of power, refrigerators in terms of unit of capacity, and so on. Moreover, there will be strict adherence to the principle of constantly reducing the costs of basic consumer qualities. Economic accountability also has a part to play by making consumers more discriminating in their choice of suppliers and partners.

How to Combat Producers' Monopoly? [subhead]

[Kotyayev] You are contradicted by Muscovite economist A. Margulev and Senior Scientific Associate B. Klyatyshev: "Using the shortage of raw materials and certain types of output as an instrument 'from positions of strength,' a producer could force consumers to accept any output, even at high prices. Conditions may also develop whereby shortages actually suit a producer to enable him to avoid reducing prices and even to increase them." This topic is raised by letters from readers who are worried about the line of "democratization" in price formation, enabling enterprises themselves to set prices by contract with consumers. Will such a forced agreement not result in a price leap?

[Chekhlov] This danger really exists. Enterprises enjoy a 70 percent monopoly in commodity production. A radical solution to this problem is possible only by breaking this monopoly, creating some competition between producers, and increasing the manufacture of various high-quality commodities. Such measures have been planned, but we cannot and must not sit back and relax until such time as they are fully implemented. First, I would like to emphasize that basic prices will be set centrally, just as before. Second, they will be based on long-term normatives with a mandatory tendency toward reduction. The cost of new output per unit of consumer demand must be lower. This has been taken into account in the normatives and methodology for elaborating contract prices. Much tougher sanctions will be imposed for price discipline violations. Not only will any illegally acquired profit be confiscated, but a fine equal to the amount of any such profit will also be imposed. As regards contract prices, the State Committee on Prices reserves the right to deprive enterprises of this privilege and amend any incorrectly set prices, in other words our monitoring functions will be intensified. The committee is now setting up a Main Administration for Price Monitoring headed by a deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices. In addition to this, price monitoring services will be stepped up at local level, in oblasts, krays, and republics. The public and the trade union committees will have a greater role to play, since it is obvious that this most important problem cannot be resolved without the consumers' help.

[Kotyayev] But we did have monitoring before, and yet this did not stop prices rising. Could this be the effect of more fundamental factors and laws? In particular, many readers name the gross indicators which encourage the race for volume performance. Here is what that same V. Klyatyshev writes on this account: "It is worrying that, whenever problems of price formation are discussed, emphasis is still placed on the cost mechanism. It is not difficult to forecast the result—manufacturers will be interested in high prices which are advantageous for individual producers but are disadvantageous for consumers."

[Chekhlov] As far as prices are concerned, I have already said that the cost-cutting principle is being established. But the point is that this is still not fully coordinated with the system for assessing enterprises' activity. Output volume—let us recall the situation with the Kamaz—is the primary concern of local leadership, because a series of normatives are linked to volume: the dependence of wages funds on growth rate, decisions on the classification of enterprises, and consequently salary scales. All this automatically pushes in the direction of higher output volumes and the quest for expensive output. It happens at times that they build up stocks of goods nobody wants. Buying and selling. Often even without profit. Like producing horsefeathers, as people say in such instances, and yet the volumes are growing. This is why we have now imposed the following limitation: Returns should include only output manufactured under contracts. We then made economic incentives strictly dependent on the fulfillment of delivery plans. But even so, it must be admitted that these criteria are

duplicates. Life indicates that the basic role must be played by indicators of profits and economically accountable revenue. The bulk of profits and the share of profits left to the enterprise, nothing else.

[Kotyayev] A number of sectors no longer plan gross figures for enterprises, and volumes apply only to ministries....

[Chekhlov] Yes, there is the practice where gross figures are used as estimating indicators. But these estimating indicators are used to calculate some actual economic normatives. And there are many instances or direct orders being issued to boost output volumes. So we must still give some more thought to it. But this is going somewhat beyond price formation problems. Prices, important as they are, cannot be held responsible for everything.

[Kotyayev] Very well, then let us move from "theory" to practice. Very many letters are devoted to prices and living standards. This is the topic of letters by T. Yurkov from Armavir, Ye. Perfilyeva from Leningrad, O. Grechushina from Tomsk, V. Izmaylova from Salavat, M. Batayev from Ivano-frankovsk Oblast, G. Shcherbakov from Kyshtym in Chelyabinsk Oblast, M. Vishnevskaya from Novocherkassk, and V. Pashnin from Chelyabinsk. Here is a letter from O. Bliznetsova, an operator from Tambov Oblast: "The article 'What Does the Price Mirror Reflect' says that the change in retail prices not only should not result in a decline in the population's living standards but, on the contrary, should actually raise these standards for certain categories of working people. What I would like to know is: How? Is this not just an excuse? Take just my family of four, for example. Now we earn an average of R170-R190 a month. Divide this by four, and you don't get even R50 per person. To top it all, my husband is ill, he needs a special diet, medicines, and so on...."

[Chekhlov] It is premature to guess the prices for specific products and commodities—this has still to be discussed, when the issue is submitted for nationwide discussion. But the principles of the approach to price formation, determining compensation procedures, and social justice and social protection in general can and must be talked about. Here there are neither secrets nor clever designs which can only be glimpsed at times. On the contrary, it is very important for us to be as familiar as possible with people's opinions.

And now to the substance of the question. We are talking about families on relatively low incomes. The purpose of food subsidies in the past was indeed to maintain the necessary living standards for such families. But actual assessments have shown that this measure did not equalize consumption levels but actually widened the existing gap. It came to light, for example, that meat consumption by families on an income of R150 per person is 90 kg or more per capita. The consumption by families on an income of R50 is proportionately lower. So subsidies for the "rich" are 3-4 times higher than for the "poor." Compensation could correct this social defect.

"I Have Six Children. How Am I Going to Live?" [subhead]

[Kotyayev] Let us try to illustrate this by an example. Here is a letter from M. Murtazaliyev of Makhachkala: "My family consists of six children, my wife, and me. So calculate how much my family needs." How is he to make ends meet if foodstuffs go up in price, and how is his standard of living to be brought closer to that enjoyed by those who are highly paid?

[Chekhlov] Assuming that this family's income is less than R50 per capita, then the level of subsidies per capita is also minimal—about R20. This level is several times higher for those who are highly paid. Let as assume that the family needs 25 kg of meat per person. If prices were to double, for example (and I repeat that this amount is only hypothetical), losses would amount to R50. In a high income family losses would reach R180. So let us talk about average indemnity. We add 50 and 180, divide it by two, and we obtain R115—THE sum of compensation per person. Consequently, the low income family has a clear gain of R65. The results is that it can obtain 12 kg of meat at the new price as if without payment. Let me add that subsidies will presumably be paid for everyone who is at work and for everyone who is not at work, including babies. If M. Murtazaliyev has six children, he should receive subsidies for each one of them. There is obviously some sense in differentiating to a certain extent between the levels of compensation for different categories of the population.

[Kotyayev] Some readers, especially a group of workers from the Tambov City Finance Department and T. Kirillova from Chita, express doubts in case a reduction in the price of commodities which are not in demand or of consumer durables in general is held out to be compensation for an increase in the price of foodstuffs. This question particularly worries pensioners. What would be the benefit, they say, of reducing the price of carpets, for example—I don't even look in that store, but I do call at the food store every day.

[Chekhlov] First, I would like to remind people that the State Committee on Prices has never reduced the prices of substandard goods. We have always talked about types of products—be it small capacity refrigerators, television sets, or clocks and watches—rather than individual specimens, so to say. Second, I think it incumbent on me to make clear the need to read between the lines: Any price increase, if it occurs, is not to be perceived as a fiscal measure to boost state budget revenues. We are talking about bringing prices closer in line with actual costs, about ensuring that everyone finds his way among the mass of products in conformity with their real value to society. As for compensation, it will be exclusively specific—as an indemnity for increases in food prices.

This measure could resolve some other important problems. What I have in mind is distributing foodstuffs more sensibly among the population taking into account actual costs, ensuring social justice, rationalizing consumption, boosting output, and improving food processing. When prices are low, for example, meat combines find it disadvantageous to make use of blood and byproducts, and bread combines find it disadvantageous to engage in packaging small products (when the packaging is as expensive as the product itself). The new price would encourage the development of enterprises' subsidiary farms, most of which now produce meat and milk at a loss. It may even make owners of personal plots think twice—it would be more advantageous to produce than to buy. It looks as if there would be a reduction in losses and in foodstuffs not being put to their proper use, like feeding meat to dogs or using grain as livestock feed (with a parallel solution of the feed supply problem). After all, every family with its own plot now feeds an average amount of 865 kg of grain to livestock every year.

[Kotyayev] Let us turn back to the problem of social justice. Many readers are thoroughly vexed with some of the letters quoted in the article. In particular about the state price for meat which, they say, is ridiculously low. Most of us—according to R. Klots from Omsk, Ye. Selezneva from Ufa, N. Polosukhin from Novokuznetsk, O. Solamatina from Penza Oblast, and others—never see meat at this price and live on what we can buy either in the market or in the commission store.

[Chekhlov] This is true.: Meat at state prices is consumed largely in Moscow, Leningrad, and the union republic capitals. I would also add those who enjoy direct access to foodstuffs—workers in stores and public catering enterprises. Following the reform, those who used to go to the market would incur comparable expenditure with those who had access to the goods in short supply. There would be fewer opportunities for some cooperative members who are now using foodstuffs from stores.

But a reservation is called for at this point: I would not like to paint some sort of rosy picture of universal prosperity or to give the impression that the intended reform is some sort of magic wand which will solve all our problems as soon as it is waved. This extremely important work was not undertaken just for the love of it. Inordinate subsidies, unjustified distortions in the economy, and the double and triple counting of figures in costs, prices, and normatives make it impossible to progress and make the management of the national economy exceptionally difficult. What is needed is a relatively simple and, I would say, honest system, based not on subjective views of the economy but on its actual laws. Only such a system could make it possible to work and live in the new fashion.

[Kotyayev] And now about the readers' different options, suggesting their own solutions to the problem of prices, shortages, and social justice. Like the letters by I. Litvinov from Ryazan Oblast, S. Kodenev from Ulan-ude, and others. Here is what Muscovite pensioner S. Levitskiy writes: "Everybody knows that our country has a shortage of foodstuffs and we are spending billions of rubles to buy them from other countries. Therefore, to preserve social justice, why don't you introduce a ration card system for all to an extent corresponding with resources...." What would you say to this?

[Chekhlov] I would answer thus. In principle, one could live under any economic order, including the present one. After all, we are living. But the question is: Should we live like this, is it fitting? To introduce a ration card system would mean not resolving but perpetuating the present contradictions, aggravating them, retreating by decades in our development. Hardly anyone could be enthusiastic about such prospects. It is necessary to think about making life better, about learning the most efficient ways of economic management. None of this is possible without enhancing economic incentives to work, without actively utilizing commodity-money relations, without modernizing conventional forms of economic management, especially cooperative forms, and utilizing new ones. Leveling is of no help here; on the contrary, it has a powerful braking effect. Why increase wages if they can buy only a strictly limited selection of goods. Why should enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes build up production output if it produces no benefit? Taking this further, how does a ration card system fit into the conditions of expanding international ties? No, I think that this way holds no advantage for us.

[Kotyayev] A series of other proposals deal with savings of funds, redistribution of incomes, and so on. It is suggested, for example, that we increase the price of salt, matches, and some other goods, reduce expenditure on the administrative and managerial apparatus, introduce graduated income tax, confiscate all salary payments in excess of R10,000, reduce the pay of those who are highly paid. Here is the opinion expressed by war and labor veteran N. Gavrilov from Moscow: "Why is the amount of food subsidies rising? Simply because the number of 'working people' who are paid not according to their labor but according to the position they hold has increased rather too much in 30 years. Management staffs are inordinately inflated. Even the State Committee on Prices is in essence equal to a ministry.... There are far too many superfluous elements in our Soviet reality...."

[Chekhlov] Let me put in a word on behalf of the State Committee on Prices right away: Despite the sharply increasing volume of work, staff cutbacks will also have an effect on us. The number of committee staffers—at present just over 400—will be reduced by 10 percent. I fully agree with the conclusion about unearned pay. This is actually the reason why we are not living as prosperously as we could be. Turning to the "alternative options" as a whole, they all share the same shortcoming: They all talk about redistribution of wealth. This is certainly very important: Every ruble saved and put to

good use, every kilogram of potatoes or cabbage not gone to waste ought to produce a tremendous gain for the country and for us all. But the ultimate decisive factor is neither distribution nor prices—by themselves they do not create wealth either for the state or for the population—but production. And the reform of price formation is aimed at boosting its efficiency. As you know, the 27th party congress stipulated that the resources channeled into consumer goods production should double by the year 2000. The fulfillment of this program will produce substantial changes in the distribution sphere.

But Will Quality Improve? [subhead]

[Kotyayev] A large proportion of letters deal with the interdependence of prices and quality of goods. S. Borshchova from Stavropol Kray writes: "In the fifties we did not have anything like the electrical appliances we have now. But those that we did have—what quality! My old 'Latviya' radio receiver works perfectly, while the new 'Vega' has been just 'on show' for a long time now. Or take television sets. The old 'Rubin-106' is working, but we fancied a color set. We bought it in March 1987, we are still paying the installments, and it has already been for repairs on four occasions...."

[Chekhlov] This needs amplification. We set prices according to state standards and for output classed as normal. And these prices apply only to such output. If the output fails to comply with standards it should not be released. But even if this does happen, such output ought not to be included in returns, and organs of the USSR State Committee for Standards must apply sanctions against the producers. If the output lacks consumer qualities, but can nevertheless be sold, the amount of discount ought to be determined by agreement between the enterprise and the trade network.

[Kotyayev] Ye. Savelyeva from Moscow Oblast asks: "Food prices will rise, and a chain reaction will result in higher prices for travel vouchers to rest homes, boarding houses, and sanatoriums. Is that right?"

[Chekhlov] Yes, if the appropriate decision is made. In proportion with the increase in food prices. But it must be borne in mind that the amount of compensation will cover the total volume of output, including what is delivered to the public catering network. If, for example, you consume 20 kg of meat at home and the remaining 42 kg within the public catering system, you will receive compensation for all 62 kg. To continue: Price increases will affect basically travel vouchers purchased at full price. But a large proportion is represented by social security travel vouchers.

[Kotyayev] And finally two letters which engage in an argument. Yu. Murashkin from Petrozavodsk: "The elaboration and introduction of a law on price control persistently suggest themselves. We need such a law, precluding any ambiguous interpretation, preventing any instructions to circumvent it, and threatening harsh punishment for any infringements." Fitter B. Kovalev from the Krasnogorsk mechanical plant: "The economy must make ends meet not by means of willful decisions from above but by the natural course of economic affairs. The point is to restructure production in a modern fashion."

[Chekhlov] I would not say that these two letters contradict one another. Control would not harm even a harmoniously developing economy. But I would rather incline toward B. Kovalev's stance. Indeed, there is need for such a self-regulating system. But in order to ensure that its "cogs" run smoothly, we need uniform economic yardsticks and uniform steps, and this is what the suggested reform of the price formation system pursues. As for the Law on Price Control, we must consider whether its implementation can be ensured. We have many laws, but at times they have no real practical effect. As a matter of fact, this suggestion deserves comprehensive analysis. I am convinced that there will be many such suggestions, aimed at improving the economic mechanism and the price formation system, and they all must be taken into account.

Agriculture

Non-Chernozem Farmers Called 'Parasitical'

PM101441 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Non-Chernozem Zone: Past and Future. Life Demands the Region's Accelerated Development"]

[Text] The whole country's attention has been riveted on Russia's non-Chernozem Zone lately. This is the heartland of Russia, a region with really great opportunities and tremendous cultural and historical riches. It has so happened that its socioeconomic development has been lagging for many years in succession. The consequences of war devastation, followed by voluntarism and stagnation, had a particularly hard effect on the countryside there. People left the land and many fields were abandoned.

Attempts have been made to remedy the situation since the start of the 10th 5-Year Plan period. The allocations of capital investment, equipment, and fertilizers for this region increased considerably. There was active land reclamation and widespread construction. Tens of billions of rubles were channeled into the region's agrarian sector in this period. Farms' fixed production capital increased by 130 percent. A recent CPSU Central Committee Politburo session noted that the implementation of planned measures has a positive effect on the non-Chernozem Zone's development. The former decline in production has been halted. Fields and stock units produce more output, labor productivity has risen. Quite a few farms have gained leading positions.

The countryside's appearance has changed noticeably. Rural working people have received 57.5 million square meters of housing, and this has made it possible to improve living conditions for more than 1 million persons. Quite a few schools, children's preschool institutions, and hospitals have been built. The road network has expanded.

But the measures that have been taken have proved inadequate. Even though the region's potential has been boosted, its utilization is extremely unsatisfactory. People in many places fail to cope with the Food Program targets. Some are even retreating from formerly held positions. For example, production of output fell in Kalinin, Kaluga, and a number of other oblasts during the last 5-year plan period. There have been no noticeable changes there during the last 2 years, either.

The situation remains as alarming as ever in the key sector of crop farming—the grain fields. Stepped-up pledges were made and high targets were set on many occasions in the past. Each time, with the plan's implementation ruined, its fulfillment was postponed until later. For example, back toward the end of the 10th 5-Year Plan period, the non-Chernozem Zone's farms planned to raise grain crop harvest yields to 20 quintals per hectare. We are already in the 12th 5-Year Plan period and this indicator has simply not been reached. Over one-third of farms fail to produce even 15 quintals of grain crops. The plans to increase potato and flax harvest yields have also been thwarted. Order has yet to be imposed everywhere in the feed production sector. Natural meadows and pastures lie abandoned. There is no proper return from the huge funds invested in land reclamation. About 4 million hectares of fields have already been reclaimed in the non-Chernozem Zone. But harvests from these areas are frequently no higher than from the rest.

The lag in field crop cultivation is largely the result of inadequate application of soil protecting systems of crop farming and intensive technologies. Fields in the non-Chernozem Zone are vast, they respond to care, but many people fail to look after them like proper stewards. What kind of harvest can be expected when even the better kolkhozes and sovkhozes apply meager quantities of organic fertilizers to their fields. At times even the "minerals" are utilized in an inexpert fashion. The Selkhozkhimiya subdivisions are inefficient in their work. They apply lime to large areas every year, but the percentage of fields suffering from soil acidity is falling extremely slowly in the region. This also results in harvest shortfalls.

This is not just a matter of technological and organizational omissions. Perhaps the main reason why the non-Chernozem Zone has yet to embark on the path of acceleration lies in people's attitude to their duty, in the extremely slow restructuring of mentality and thinking. Resolutions on the region's development adopted in the past were welcomed with great approval. But many perceived state assistance as just a source of additional funds and resources. The parasitical attitude gained the upper hand. Investment sums were made available, but very often they either were "consumed" or sunk without trace in the morass of economic mismanagement. Local party and soviet organs failed to promptly correct the leaders and specialists. Now, in conditions of restructuring, such attitudes are particularly impermissible.

The non-Chernozem Zone is a region that primarily favors the development of stock breeding. Nonetheless, the rate of stock units' output production growth is low here. Even though the targets for deliveries to central stocks are fairly moderate, there is no output to be spared for the internal market. Where is it to be found? Over the last 12 years, for example, Bryansk, Yaroslavl, Gorkiy, and a number of other oblasts have produced pretty insignificant increases in per capita meat production. This indicator actually fell in Pskov and Smolensk Oblasts. Some oblasts fail to satisfy their own demands for stockraising products and "survive" on state subsidies.

Even the per capita production of dairy products declined in 13 oblasts and autonomous republics over the same period. The proportion of output produced on personal subsidiary farms is falling. Many leaders, instead of thinking about better utilization of internal reserves, go hat in hand to central offices and beg for foodstuffs to be brought in from outside. The time demands that local organs should take the most resolute measures to ensure that, within the shortest possible time period, all oblasts and autonomous republics embark on the path of self-sufficiency and are able to satisfy their needs for meat, milk, and most other basic foodstuffs from their own output.

One of the important avenues for the development of the region's agro-industrial complex is to strengthen the processing industry's base. It is seriously lagging here, just as in the country as a whole. The RSFSR Gosagroprom and its local organs do not give sufficient attention to this sphere. Capital investment funds running into tens of millions of rubles are systematically not assimilated, and timetables for the construction of enterprises are disrupted. For example, Mordovia's largest meat combine in Torbeyevo was under construction for 12 years even though the normative time was 44 months. Existing plans are not properly renewed. A radical breakthrough is needed. The task is to ensure priority development for the processing industry.

Man with his interests, needs, and aspirations is at the center of all this work of transformations. This truth was not immediately grasped. Attempts were often made to develop production in the first place, postponing the social sphere "until later." Consequently, many cadres were lost and a large number of villages are deserted. Questions of amenities for population centers were not always solved with due consideration for modern requirements. The majority of rural homes still lack

main gas and water supply and drainage. Medical services are indifferent. Many work places have bad working conditions. Small villages in particular need urgent assistance. Major measures are now planned for the non-Chernozem Zone's social development. Their implementation must be tackled in earnest. Cadres must be actively recruited for the countryside as, for example, for many farms in Kirov Oblast. It is important to make broader use of the best experience.

This year's sowing campaign is almost upon us. This year the non-Chernozem Zone's working people are called upon to take a significant step toward their set goals. It is important to lay reliable foundations for a good harvest. But Perm, Novgorod, and several other oblasts in the region have still not bothered to stock up with the necessary quantities of seed for sowing. Equipment maintenance is lagging in places. Party organs are called upon to skillfully direct the work of rural working people and to help them introduce contracts and economic accountability [khozraschet] and achieve fulfillment of plans and pledges.

The non-Chernozem Zone has a rich past. But it also has a great future. It is the duty of all working people in this vast region to make their land flourish.

Nikonov Tours Dzhambul, Kazakhstan
LD092308 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Dzhambul is a town that lives on agriculture: The biggest producers of phosphorus and phosphoric acid, from which fertilizers and fodder additives for animal husbandry are made, are concentrated here. It was precisely at the Novodzhambulskiy works that a new and unique technique for processing phosphate rocks from the local Karatau deposit and for obtaining particularly pure phosphor and phosphoric acid was born. Even more advanced production is now being planned here which is, most importantly, ecologically clean.

The enterprise, however, is not functioning at full capacity today. It was precisely to this that Viktor Petrovich Nikonov [secretary of the CPSU Central Committee] drew the chemists' attention. [video shows street scenes, then shows long shot of works with chimneys billowing smoke. A closer shot of the exterior is followed by a shot of the rock being heated and processed and the control room, panning to show Nikonov at center of a group of approximately 15 men, cutting to medium shot of Nikonov talking to them]

The fact is that in recent years the [Kazakh] republic has not been meeting plans for grain output. The way out lies through expanding the intensive fields, and this requires more mineral fertilizers. There is one way: to bring the works to design capacity more quickly and to create here the production of new and effective kinds of fertilizers.

[video shows Nikonov and entourage walking along a sidewalk and going into a doorway; next shot shows woman serving spring onions in a greengrocery, and customers in poultry shop]

In the years of this 5-year period the public has been tangibly better supplied, but the issue of fully satisfying the purchasers' demand, particularly for local produce, has still not been resolved, even though economic reform today makes it possible to broaden local sources of food resources. However, restructuring is proceeding only slowly here. Comrade Nikonov's conversation with the people of Dzhambul was also about this. [video shows group of people in a street]

There is experience of enterprising work. For example, the Dzhambul poultry association is rapidly stepping up production of turkey meat. The poultry farmers' most immediate plans include the creation of a scientific-production association, with a network of processing plants, direct-sales shops, and public catering enterprises. Today that is one of the main roads toward rapidly supplementing food resources locally. [video shows exterior of poultry works, Nikonov and entourage in protective yellow clothing touring a works, then the exterior of a fruit and vegatable shop]

Murakhovskiy Attends Agro-Industrial Seminar
LD092215 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 9 Feb 88

[Text] Questions of further intensifying areas of the agro-industrial complex and transferring it to full financial autonomy and self-recouping are being discussed at a regional seminar that opened today at the Kirghiz Oblast center in Osh. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the seminar is Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

Weather, Winter Crop Status Reported
PM101149 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Feb 88 p 3

[Agrometeorologist S. Malikova report: "Weather and Crops. Frosts Recede. Snow Covers Winter Crops"]

[Text] The weather in the European part of the country was cold over the last 10 days. Minimum air temperature fell to 20-30 degrees [as published], and minimum temperatures in the Baltic republics, western Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Crimean Oblast fell to 10-15 degrees [as published]. The greatest precipitation (30-75 mm, and more in places) fell over Moldavia, the western oblasts of the Ukraine, the Crimea, and Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays. The weather has now turned warmer.

In most of the Baltic republics, Belorussia, the Ukraine, the western half of the Northwest Region, and the western oblasts of the Central Region snow cover on fields with winter crops was thin (between 2 and 8 cm).

Minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth posed no danger to crops. In these areas, however, minimum temperatures fell to minus 13-15 degrees in places, which is close to the critical temperature at which poorly developed crops can be damaged.

There was no severe frost in the western zone of the Ukraine or Moldavia. There is no danger to winter crops. In Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, the south of Rostov Oblast, and the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus the wintering of crops was also proceeding favorably.

In the Transcaucasian republics average air temperature was near normal. There were heavy falls of snow in Georgia and Armenia. There was no precipitation in other regions. In Armenia winter grain crops were in a state of winter dormancy, while they were growing in Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The weather was cold in Siberia and the northern half of Kazakhstan. In southern Kazakhstan average air temperature over the 10 days was near normal. The greatest precipitation (11-30 mm, and more in places) fell in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan and in Chimkent, Dzhambul, Alma-Ata, and Taldy-Kurgan oblasts. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses were under snow cover 20-50 cm deep. The overwintering of winter crops and grasses was proceeding favorably. In the Far East average air temperature over the 10 days was 3-5 degrees above normal and snow fell.

In Central Asia the weather turned colder at the end of the 10-day period. Precipitation fell everywhere. The most precipitation (11-30 mm, and more in places) fell in northern Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and most oblasts of Uzbekistan. In Kirghizia winter grain crops were in a state of winter dormancy for most of the 10-day period. On the rest of the territory they were growing, and vegetation stopped only at the end of the 10 days.

Military

New History of USSR Armed Forces Published

PM111029 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

["Notes on Books" by Colonel Yu. Krylov, retired: "In the Form of a Conversation With Readers"]

[Text] There has recently been an appreciable increase in the stream of readers' letters inquiring about the life and history of the Army and the Navy. Answers to many of them may be found in a new Political Literature Publishing House book which recently appeared on the bookstore shelves—"The Soviet Armed Forces. Questions and Answers" (Footnote) ("Sovetskiye Vooruzhennyye Sily. Voprosy i otvety," Pages of History, Political Literature Publishing House, 1987, 416 pages, price R1.40). The book covers the entire period of the history of the Soviet Armed Forces from 1918 through 1988. It is written in the form of an unconstrained, frank discussion of the most urgent problems of the history and the contemporary life of the Army and the Navy. The authors do not avoid sharp topics and give specific and full answers to questions which previously were examined rarely. The reader can learn much that is new about the activity of the republic's Revolutionary Military Council, about the reasons for our failures during the first period of the Great Patriotic War, and about the assistance which the Soviet state and its Armed Forces gave to other countries during and after the war. The book gives an entire panorama of the Communist Party's activity in building and leading the Soviet Armed Forces. Questions connected with restructuring in the Army and the Navy and with their role in defending peace and socialism under modern conditions are also touched on.

Assessing the book with today's strict yardsticks, it is possible to point out that the authors have also failed to avoid stereotypes in their answers to certain questions. But this does not reduce the book's value, and I believe that the mass reader will read it with interest.

New Works To Reevaluate Military History

PM081651 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Feb 88 p 3

[V. Dolganov account of roundtable discussion: "Without Inventions and Without Conjecture. Military Historians' View of Army History"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction; boldface passages as published]

[Text] They were the first to rise to defend the fatherland,the first to fall in the firing line, halting the enemy's advance just for a minute or even just for a second. They — "the men in the gray greatcoats," the fighters and commanders of our Army — made history in the fighting, writing it in their own blood in the literal meaning of the word. They were among the first to personally experience the consequences of arbitrary rule and illegality during the personality cult years. Much has been written and said about them but, at the same time, it is all insultingly inadequate: Previously, military history has not always differentiated between all the participants in events of the greatest importance for the socialist motherland. It still contains numerous "blank spots" and incomplete pages. Soviet historical science today is doing everything to interpret from positions of restructuring and glasnost, from the viewpoint of historical truth, the path traveled by the USSR Armed Forces over the past 70 years.

A complex and responsible task. How is it to be accomplished without deviating from the truth by a single step? This is the topic of today's reflections by Lieutenant General Prof Mikhail Mitrofanovich Kiryan, honored scientist of the RSFSR, doctor of military sciences, and deputy chief for scientific matters of the USSR Defense

Ministry's Order of the Red Star Military History Institute; and Major General Prof Yuriy Yakovlevich Kirshin, doctor of philosophical sciences and chief of the Editorial Board of the "Soviet Military Encyclopedia." We publish a transcript of their conversation with our correspondent.

[Dolganov] The numerous works and books on which almost 30 doctors of sciences and other scientists from your institute are now working include 2 which are of particular interest for the mass readership, military history experts both at home and abroad, and commanders and political workers of our country's Army and Navy. We all know that a second edition of the 8-volume "Soviet Military Encyclopedia" and a 10-volume study "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People, 1941-1945" are now being prepared for print. What is the fundamental difference between them and similar publications in the past? What new information, data, and historical facts will they contain?

M.M. Kiryan: The restructuring of social life and of social consciousness which is now gathering pace in our country demands the reinterpretation of a series of military-political events and pages in the history of the USSR Armed Forces. Take the actual title of the 10-volume work: "...War of the **Soviet People**...." Yes, precisely — **of the people.** This is no lip service to historical fashion. Historians placed emphasis on the personalities of troop commanders and major military leaders in similar publications in the past. Much less was said about the rank-and-file fighters for victory, the servicemen and partisans, the working people in the rear. Very few genuine documents were used for this type of narrative. This omission has to be rectified in the first place.

Yu.Ya. Kirshin: Indeed, there is nothing worse than featureless history, skimming only along the "top echelon." This is especially detrimental for an encyclopedia with its concise, almost telegraphic style. How were military encyclopedic works prepared back in the past? A brief summary of the troop commander's life, major dates in his service career, a list of battles and operations in which he participated. We decided that the encyclopedia's new edition should offer in a few sentences not only this information but also a professional military assessment of every military leader so that readers, even laymen, could grasp the differences in military leaders' views and perceive the actual contribution made by each of them to the art of war and the building of the socialist motherland's Army.

M.M. Kiryan: I would like to amplify this point—we are not talking about depicting everything exclusively in a new fashion. The innovation rather consists of the fact that everything will be described as it actually was, with all the complexities of social interaction. It is perfectly clear for us: It is impossible to justify Stalin's repressions of the military leaders. Stalin could not have been ignorant of the repressions. After all, they actually affected his closest aides from the People's Commissariat for Defense, the General Staff... They disappeared one after another after another... And that was happening on the eve of a terrible war whose approach was not a matter of mere conjecture or intuition: There were intelligence reports; the political thrust of fascism's goals was clear.

However, here it is important to avoid going to extremes, as is happening now not only to participants in the events themselves and to people born after the war but also to some of our historian colleagues who are rightly demanding a quest for the complete truth about Stalin. Are we not at times attributing all our calamities to just one figure? Yes, the vast bureaucratic machine which trampled the law was created by Stalin. But there have been virtually no studies of its mechanism. Questions of military history included. Somebody collected the denunciations, somebody wrote the reports and the sentences, somebody imposed the resolutions ... Every name and every deed here is important for history. It is also part of our task to name the specific people who are inordinately and criminally guilty before the party and the people and to accurately assess all actions. Nobody should be falsely accused, but nobody is entitled to undeserved glorification, either. Both the 10-volume work and the encyclopedia will seek to offer answers as regards specific names and specific situations.

Yu.Ya. Kirshin: Let me repeat: In our striving for full glasnost we will be the trailblazers on some issues, running ahead of scientific and at times even of popular journals. Are we afraid of running a risk? No. And this is precisely why we cannot afford mistakes in our assessments, a danger which exists in reality. Many opinions are expressed nowadays by historians (thanks to glasnost!); the assessments that issue forth—at times even those from specialists—sound somewhat superficial and therefore incomplete, leaning toward sensationalism. There is enough fiction written about our history. The situation of complete openness and glasnost must not be utilized to the detriment of the scientific approach. The scientific standard of a number of articles in the encyclopedia's first edition was insufficiently high due to haste and pressure of time during its preparation. What was the result? Let me illustrate this with an example. Our military sources offer very contradictory interpretations of the division of the civil war into periods. This has been considerably detrimental to the description and assessment not only of individual periods but also of individual personalities.

Now even the style of work used in the encyclopedia's first edition has undergone fundamental changes. Previously we invited to discussions (and all our major and large-scale studies are conducted in cooperation with the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute and leading military academies) people sharing the same view of the problem. Now, in contrast, we are striving to create an atmosphere of sharp discussion, and consequently select participants with different approaches.

The style of discussions is open [glasnyy], strictly scientific, and democratic. Scientists speak and argue freely. And here is something interesting: Our young people have started speaking with more confidence, introducing many bold ideas...

[Dolganov] But let us conclude the "Stalin topic..." It is naturally risky in history to approach the assessment of events and facts from the position of "what would have happened if." Nevertheless, since our readers—to judge by their letters—are unusually perturbed by this question, I would like to find out how military historical science is studying and will continue to study the problem of the fate of prisoners of war? The problem of what happened to the designers of combat equipment who found themselves behind bars on the eve of the war?

M.M. Kiryan: In literature one could come across explanations of the need "to isolate" some of our designers by claiming that the flow of secret information abroad intensified at a crucial period in the design of new equipment. According to this explanation, the specialists were not arrested but "isolated" on Stalin's orders. Without going into details, the general outline of the story is as follows: They apparently were not in jail but had virtually no contact with the outside world; they were fed and clothed, given warm beds, and were supplied with conditions for work, including literature... But we must look at the "what if" aspect. And we must carefully study how the actual lack of freedom affected the "productivity" of their thinking and creative work. Such an analysis is possible and within the powers of science. There can be no argument: This was a manifestation of the gross flouting of the individual and of the individual's civil rights and freedoms.

And now about the prisoners of war, many of whom survived the tragedies of Hitler's camps and were repressed when they came back. This part of our military history is indeed inadequately elucidated by science. But is the problem as unambiguous as all that? Yes, we cannot justify the opinion prevailing at the time that anyone who was unable to break out of encirclement to rejoin our forces should have shot himself. This is nonsense. After all, many of our prisoners of war escaped from the camps to partisan detachments or joined the resistance movement in European countries.

And now for the other side of the coin. Let us investigate and clearly differentiate between those who were **captured** as a result of wounds, contusion, or other circumstances beyond their control, and those who **surrendered** before exhausting all possible opportunities to resist the invaders.

[Dolganov] It is probable that many documents important for the interpretation of various events will become available when the archives are opened up. But many of your colleagues, especially civil historians, are actually complaining that only a negligible part has been made available...

Yu.Ya. Kirshin: The doors have not been opened so widely as to enable us to obtain all that we need. A news conference attended by many archive officials was held recently. We asked: "Up to which year are documents available on request?" "Up to 1930," we were told. And yet we are interested primarily in **all** of the thirties; these years contain much that explains the period of preparation for war and the initial period of the war. But do you know what is really strange? It seems that it is not even a matter of the archives being closed; it is instead a question of their officials often not knowing what they have and where it is to be found.

M.M. Kiryan: We discovered many documents referring to 1941 in our own military archives. These are, moreover, such detailed documents that it is possible to study the history of fronts, armies, and in some cases even individual divisions. The result of illiterate and nonscientific filing was that nobody had the slightest idea of the contents of files marked "1941." We were allowed to unpack these materials, sort them out, and select what we needed. Honestly, our scientists did not complain that they had had to turn into archivists—the data they obtained were so interesting and valuable. Now we can examine the history of relatively small military subunits in order to better understand what happened and how it happened in the initial period of the war.

[Dolganov] Scientists from the institute maintain permanent ties and work as coauthors with their colleagues, the military historians from the socialist countries. What effect will this cooperation have on the depth and accuracy of the new editions?

Yu.Ya. Kirshin: Here we can talk not only about the encyclopedia and the history of the Great Patriotic war but also about a whole series of other theoretical and applied studies. For example, a book entitled "Origins of World War II. Documents and Commentaries" is under preparation jointly with historians from the fraternal armies. As regards the new edition of the encyclopedia, it will not be just the mutual relations of the socialist countries' scientists that will be reexamined in the spirit of restructuring. We will present the history of the friendly armies more fully, and the articles will be penned by representatives of the countries concerned.

M.M. Kiryan: Both publications are also important for our cooperation with historians from Western states. The institute plays an active part in the activity of the International Committee for World War II History and the International Military History Commission, where we work together with military historians from the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, the FRG, Canada, Sweden, and many other countries. This is why we need the complete truth about our military history and our country's history in general. Apart from all other aspects, this is important from the viewpoint of the USSR'S international prestige, the perception of its peace-loving policy, and the growing mutual trust between nuclear powers at disarmament talks.

We have never threatened anyone while traveling our glorious combat path, and we are not threatening anyone now. The new political thinking in questions of war and peace demands of us the deeper and fuller reflection in all contemporary works and publications of the defensive nature of the USSR and Warsaw Pact countries' military doctrine.

By studying history, restoring its little-known pages, and tackling the problems of the modern army, we are helping to strengthen the cause of peace. There is only one guideline here—the truth always, everywhere, and in everything.

General Lizichev Honors Singing Soldiers

PM101505 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

["Our correspondent" report: "Winning Songs. The 'When Soldiers Sing' Contest Summed Up"]

[Excerpts] Central Television has finished filming the final round of the All-Union Television contest "When Soldiers Sing." The program will be broadcast on the birthday of the Soviet Armed Forces—23 February. [passage omitted]

At the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army yesterday Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, presented honorary awards to the first winners. "The contest," he pointed out, "is an important event in the cultural life of the USSR Armed Forces and the entire country. It has helped to further popularize modern military songs, involved a wide range of writers in creating them, enhanced performing skill, and made a serious contribution to the young generation's patriotic education."

Ye. Zaytsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department, participated in the meeting with the All-Union Television contest winners.

Readers' Letters on Aspects of Military Life

PM091423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[PRAVDA Military Affairs Desk commentary under the rubric "We Serve the Soviet Union!": "Not Forgetting About Common Sense"]

[Text] Military district, forces' group, and fleet party aktiv meetings on the progress of restructuring the work of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations in the light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress are drawing to a close in the Army and the Navy.

We were told at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate that the meetings have provided the impetus for a sharp focus on practical matters and the achievement of a new moral climate in military collectives and of party organizations' enhanced militancy and that a committed search took place at the meetings for new approaches, forms, and methods of organization of political education work and the enhancement of its influence on the deepening of restructuring... Examples were cited: In the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany the work of 336 party activists was rated unsatisfactory and 276 activists were removed from elective party organs as a result of their failure to cope with their duties; the Baltic Military District Political Directorate received 826 letters with replies to the questionnaire "Your views about the restructuring of party work," more than 100 proposals were phoned in, and some 6,000 critical remarks and proposals were dealt with...

This campaign is a notable occurrence in the life of our Armed Forces. After all, it is no secret that many party committees and bureaus have still not rid themselves of inertia and the old stereotypes in their practical work and that against the backdrop of a certain improvement in military discipline a radical breakthrough here has still not been achieved... The meetings which have taken place have been aimed precisely at the solution of these problems.

Let us mention another feature. On the eve of the meetings the Army and fleet press published not only questionnaires about the problems of restructuring but also the themes of the reports. This has enabled Communists to acquaint themselves in advance with the key elements of the upcoming party debate.

True, we are somewhat taken aback by the fact that in the desk's bulky mailbag there are so far no letters in which readers share their views on this account. Of course, we by no means expect them to sit down and start writing letters to PRAVDA as soon as they return home after the meetings. But nonetheless...

So what did our January mailbag yield? Readers continue to express profound concern at the "Afghan problem"—every other letter contains the question: When will the war in Afghanistan end? There are many letters about social and cultural conditions; readers are noting that of late more attention is being paid to the conditions of servicemen's day-to-day life, while, at the same time it is often forgotten in what difficult conditions commanders and political officers live and work...

Our readers express concern at the training process and the combat readiness status of units and subunits. They expose factors which are hampering the reinforcement of military discipline and the normal progress of combat training. "You get the impression," officer A. Kostenko writes, "that superior staffs and organs are currently being actively restructured. I have arrived at this conclusion judging by the fact that the flow of papers and the procession of all kind of commissions from superior organs has not only not subsided but has even increased. Naturally, they have to prove their own restructuring

with action rather than words and that is why they are writing and traveling hither and thither, frequently regardless of common sense...

How can we talk about common sense when, for instance, in one garrison quite recently they had to repaint the lower parts of houses and fences two or three times just because one of the superiors liked black paint and another gray paint. Honestly!

True, many obstructions will have to be removed in the course of restructuring. Now there is a lot of talk everywhere about responsibility for end results, and practices such as petty supervision, administration by decree, and excessive paperwork are being criticized. Therefore commissions which are, inevitably, disrupting combat training, taking up commanders' time, and interfering with their independence as a result of their visits to units and ships present a strange sight. You get the impression that they are functioning merely to justify their existence.

Unquestionably, supervision is necessary, but it has to be principled supervision, rather than artificial, haphazard, and heavy-handed supervision which only distracts servicemen from their main task—combat training. Ultimately, we must not forget about common sense.

Tajik Leader Notes Local Military Difficulties

LD062308 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Feb 88

[Text] Issues relating to military-patriotic education of young people have been discussed at a meeting of the republican party aktiv in Dushanbe. The report by Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, and by those speaking in debate, expressed concern at the unsatisfactory preparation of young men for service in the ranks of the Armed Forces. Those called up for military service from Tajikistan are frequently less well developed physically than their contemporaries from other areas in the country. Many of them have an inadequate knowledge of Russian. There are cases of young people evading callup, including on religious grounds.

The meeting of the party aktiv charted out measures to effect a radical improvement in military-patriotic education of young people.